

The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games

Edited by
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I. Introduction

Sociology of Sport and the Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games

by

Günther Lüschen

One of the newly emerging fields in applied sociology is the sociology of sport, which refers to the sociological analysis of an institutionalized type of competitive interaction. This competitive interaction has a peculiar position on a continuum between play and work--neither completely performed without the expectation of extrinsic reward nor with the sole expectation of it for the latter. The specific study of sport ranges from the analysis of spontaneous play groups of children to the problems of the efficiency of professional sport organizations, and from the study of games as cultural universals to the dyadic relations of athletes in a contest.

To date the sociology of sport has not been much in the center of professional attention, although such prominent figures as Spencer, Max Weber, Scheler, von Wiese or Znaniecki were aware of it. Yet, casual remarks, as in most cases, or Spencer's neglect of any sociological analysis of such a field as physical education (1896) have done little to establish the sociology of sport as a proper subdiscipline of general sociology. And the few systematic attempts like H. Risse's "Soziologie des Sports" (1921) were limited in theoretical scope. It was not until the late 1950's that a radical change could be observed. Not only is the field now identified through such efforts as a separate Unesco-Committee within the International Sociological Association (ISA) and the International Council of Sport and Physical Education (ICSPE) or the publication of the International Review of Sport Sociology, but also the theoretical quality and concern to be found in a number of publications. To be sure most attempts so far do not go beyond the mere statement of ad hoc theories. The theoretical frame of reference may not be very rigid, yet a number of results are becoming increasingly meaningful beyond the mere subject area (cf. Lüschen, 1968). Potentialities of the field as well as some of its important results can clearly be found in the cross-cultural analysis of sport and games, which for the comparative study of socio-cultural systems in sociology and cultural anthropology can provide us with crucial insights. Such analysis will also lead to new and better insights in regard to the theory of sport itself.

The study of sport and games in different societies and cultures is not new. Yet, past attempts which appear as early as in the middle of the 19th century (cf. Catlin, 1841) have hardly used sport for comparative purposes, or at best handled it in the frame of cultural diffusion (cf. Tylor, 1896). The interest was either on single games in individual cultures or on the material aspects of play and games, often only out of curiosity. These attempts, quite popular in cultural anthropology since the end of the last century, have almost died out. Only recently did Leslie A. White (1964), in a presidential address to the American Anthropological Association, ask for renewed efforts, when he proposed the structural analysis of baseball. He implicitly directed the anthropologists away from a comparative approach, in which enough material seems to be at hand, yet theoretical insight is missing.

The lack of theory which is often claimed for comparative sociology is hardly as discouraging as it may seem at first sight. There are at least two classification systems for the study of games which have proven their validity in the analysis of games and sports. Roger Caillois' classification of games lists horizontally games of competition (*agon*), chance (*alea*), pretense (*mimicry*), vertigo (*ilinx*), and vertically a continuum from unregulated forms of *paidia* to the regulated forms of *ludus* (Caillois, 1955). The second classification system uses games of chance, strategy and physical skill and has been applied to cross-cultural analysis by Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962). While in the latter system, sport would be classified as a game of physical skill with some variation in regard to the element of strategy, sport in Caillois' rather broad system would qualify mainly as a game of competition with variation between *paidia* and *ludus*. Yet, sport also has elements of the games of mimicry and vertigo, the amount and function of which in the system of sport would be an important focus of analysis. Furthermore, cultures with a preference for competition are often, as those of the American Indians, engaged in games of chance as well. The specific structural components of such occurrence would be important for the analysis.

A theoretical frame of reference for the comparative study of sport and games is, of course, provided by structural-functional theory. One may raise certain objections, since most of this theory seems to be keyed more toward the economy, polity or to the religious and family systems and less to institutions that according to certain beliefs have no purpose at all. Yet this neglect, if it were true, should rather be a challenge to further extend or to redefine the analytical frame of reference provided so far. Regardless of the body of theory and the conceptual frame of reference, the

methodological procedures as already outlined by anthropologists like Radcliffe-Brown (1952) stand out as a must in the comparative analysis of sport and games. Not only should a structural analysis be provided in order to determine the structure of the system of sport itself and the interrelationship of sport to the socio-cultural system at large and its subsystems, but the question of the functional significance of sport should be answered as well. If one does not want to raise this problem in terms of structural-functional theory, it will necessarily appear again in the methodology of comparative research as that of equivalence. It is impossible to overlook the fact that sport and games in one culture have completely different meaning--or function for that matter--than in another. Baseball in Lybia is only materially the same as baseball in the United States (cf. Gini, 1939).

The comparative analysis of sport is bound to touch on another controversial methodological issue--that of evolution. Sport and games may provide us here with material that could well help the theory of evolution to overcome some of its empirical shortcomings. Moreover, challenges of beliefs in a linear or a convergent development of all partial structures from the so-called primitive to modern cultures may well be supported in the light of a highly differentiated sport culture in such remote areas as the Polynesian Islands and a comparatively uniform and undifferentiated sport culture in certain modern societies.

The comparative analysis of sport and games, in focusing on the structural analysis of the system of sport itself, its interrelationship with society and societal sub-systems and the analysis of the functional significance of sport in a given system should focus on three main areas:

1. What is the structure and function of sport and games as one of the few cross-cultural universals? What variations are found in patterns of behavior expressed in sport and games, and what specific values and norms of the socio-cultural system at large do they reveal?
2. What is the degree of institutionalization in different societies? How is sport formally organized? How is it related to societal sub-systems?
3. What is the system of rewards in sport? How does it relate to a rank or class system in different socio-cultural systems?

In regard to the first objective, sport and games represent basic values of a given society and seem to fulfill an important function

for the learning and maintenance of behavior patterns. This ranges from insights into the normative structure of society, as learned during childhood in games, up to the rituals with religious meaning, that sport and games provide for primitive as well as modern man. For the analysis of societies itself, patterns of game behavior show a clear connection with such orientations as degree of risk-taking or the amount of rationality in social interaction. But games and sports are not only representative of societal norms and values, and they do not only socialize toward such patterns and provide in the form of ritual for some form of continuity. The sport contest is also a model of conflict, an encounter in which rivalries occur. In this context the question of sport's function for conflict resolution and tension management within and in between socio-cultural systems is of utmost importance in the comparative analysis. What does it mean when cultural areas like the Polynesian tribes with little warfare have a highly developed culture of sport and games, while African tribes with their high tradition in warfare have a comparatively poorly developed game and sport culture? At this point a statement that the frequency in occurrence of sport and games goes inversely with the occurrence of social and political conflict is only a hypothesis. Many incidents of riots at sport events seem rather to point to the opposite.

In regard to the second objective--the degree of institutionalization and the form of organization--we think of sport and games in primitive societies as part of other institutions like religion. In modern societies, however we find institutional separation, implying a kind of linear evolution. Also a formal organization from casual encounters of kinship groups in primitive societies to highly bureaucratized sport clubs and federations in modern societies imply such a way of thinking. The organization of sport into team or individual forms seem to develop along the same lines, as does the occurrence of females in this predominantly male culture. Yet these are hypothetical statements. There is considerable doubt whether the implicit changes are linear. Individual sports are to be found in many primitive societies, and their team sports are often not characterized by cooperative role interdependence but by coercion. As far as the participation of women is concerned, they may already be found competing on their own in primitive societies and at times even against men (Hye-Kerkdal, 1956).

Of further importance in this connection is sport's interrelationship with other institutions or societal sub-systems such as religion, polity, and economy, which also will provide us with important insights as to its functional significance.

Of special interest in regard to the third objective is the problem of rewards in a system and the interrelationship to a rank

or class system in societies. What are the outcomes of a performance in sport? If the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic reward is valid, and there are considerable doubts, then sport is an activity where the outcomes are extrinsically rewarded of course with quite a difference as to amount and type of reward. In primitive societies, rewards do not seem to be material at all. Yet rewards are not solely material in modern societies either. Indeed, professional sports are cross-culturally such a rare occurrence that the category provided for that matter in the Human Relation Area Files is empty in almost every case. Furthermore, the few cases of professionalism are not only found in modern societies. In Tibet, a lower class of monks was established solely for the purpose of sport, thus composing a type of professionalism. Material rewards should, of course, not be neglected. However, a better concept for analysis is that of any type of extrinsic reward, including public acclaim, prestige or ascription of a social status as well as material reward. An important aspect is whether the results of activities in an open system like that of sport are freely transferable. Status through sport may be gained only across specific ranges secured by the exclusion of lower classes or higher classes from competition, or by limitations in the competition itself. Thus, in one of the Polynesian societies, observers report that sailing races are performed in such a way that the front running boat--that of the king--is never overtaken. And among the Baganda in Africa, the King used to engage in wrestling matches, but an opponent who defeated him would definitely be killed (Roscoe, 1911).

We have, at times, made short references as to the functions of sport for socio-cultural systems at large. In Parsonian terms, sport in modern societies functions mainly for pattern maintenance, tension management and integration, with a possible increase for the function of goal attainment on grounds of political meaning in the future. In the so-called primitive societies the functions of adaptation (sport skills may even be used to provide food) and goal attainment (political conflicts may be settled by sportive encounters) seem to be more prominent than in modern societies. Indeed, the universalism in functions and the limited institutionalization have led to claims that these activities should not be called sport.

This volume contains some of the important contributions to the cross-cultural analysis of sport by sociologists, physical educationists and anthropologists. The selection should clearly document the theoretical potentialities for the comparative study of sport and games. The selection will also exemplify a number of methodological approaches ranging from the anthropological report, over the analysis of societal institutions as they relate to sport, to the analysis of human behavior on the basis of sequences of time.

Erik Allardt outlines a model of analysis in which he, on the basis of an implicitly evolutionary notion, combines a theoretical model of Durkheim with modes of childrearing. This model assumes the integration between sport and society. Elias and Dunning introduce a conceptual discussion on leisure and play-related mimetic patterns, which will be useful for further cross-cultural analysis.

In the section on sport in primitive societies, Hans Damm gives a comprehensive overview of anthropological studies on the level of sport in the so-called primitive cultures. His thorough command of the subject leads him to valuable insights in regard to societal differentiation, economic organization and the determination of sport and games through other non-sociological factors. The determination of sport through ecological factors is emphasized by Gerald Glassford in a report on the Eskimo. He derives his theoretical frame of reference from the so-called game-theory.

In a comparative analysis of all cultures Günther Lüschen analyses socio-cultural systems and the related values for the appearance of sport in general and that of top sport in particular. Sutton-Smith and Roberts discuss their prolonged interest in the cross-cultural study of children's games and those of adults and the two sexes as indicators of universal structures related to specific types of games.

In the section on sport in modern societies, Zurcher and Meadow single out the national sports in Mexico and the United States as representing basic authority structures of the families in both countries respectively. May Segoe exemplifies the usefulness of types of games as indicators in comparative studies of industrial societies. Gerald Kenyon presents data on attitudes of adolescents toward sport in Anglo-Saxon countries. John Robinson provides us with an analysis of time-budgets focusing on the uses of time for sport in 12 modern societies.

In the final article, Kalevi Heinulä treats the crucial question of sport and inter-national conflict. He raises more objections to a function of sport for conflict resolution and tension management than supporting statements. This may well indicate the shortcomings that we face in general in the cross-cultural study of sport and games at this point. We know a lot of facts. Although the categories for sport and games do not have many references in the Human Relation Area Files (cf. Textor, 1967), we do have enough material from this source alone for further study. Yet our theoretical insights are still limited, and the many functions that are often claimed for sport and games are all too often no more than beliefs. The authors represented

in this volume belong to the rather small group of those scientists who have made strong attempts to overcome such limitations. The following discussions will hopefully stimulate further analyses of sport and games in the related scientific fields.

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II. Theory and Conceptual Framework

Basic Approaches in Comparative Sociological Research and the Study of Sport

by

Erik Allardt

All sociological studies involve comparisons of groups or analyses of the variation of some social phenomena in relation to other social phenomena. In this trivial and therefore also rather meaningless sense all sociology is comparative. In a more specific sense comparative sociology designates comparisons of societies defined either by nationhood or a distinct cultural heritage. Because of the many different connotations the word 'comparative' has had in the history of social science it would perhaps be recommendable to speak directly of cross-national and cross-cultural instead of comparative research.

The methodological problems in comparisons of societies are hardly unique or at least not unknown in other forms of social inquiry. Many problems, however, appear in an exaggerated form or are particularly difficult to solve when comparing societies. This is also the rationale for speaking about basic problems in comparative research.

Views About the Nature of Society and Comparative Research

There is a relatively long history of discussions about comparative research, and at times special schools in sociology and social anthropology have been associated with the comparative method. These schools have not contained very explicit statements about the methods of comparison but rather they have advocated specific views about the nature of society, and also have developed specific concepts for describing structural units. Views and ideas about the nature of society are of course methodologically relevant in the sense that they influence the choice of methods applied but nevertheless these schools have primarily provided conceptual systems or frames of references with a stress on certain perspectives in sociological descriptions of particular societies.

There is an embarrassment of riches of views of both the structure of society and the comparative method, and most major writers such as Max Weber and Emile Durkheim have presented

their views about the comparative method. It seems, however, reasonable to speak of three major schools which in recent decades have made special claims regarding the comparative method on the basis of their views of social structure. We could speak of them as the structural-functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown, the neo-structuralism of Levi-Strauss and Leach, and the evolutionary functionalism of Talcott Parsons.

The structural-functionalism of particularly Radcliffe-Brown during the decades immediately preceding and following World War II was almost completely dominating in particularly British social anthropology. The crucial concept in Radcliffe-Brown's methodology was 'type relationship', and Radcliffe-Brown characterized his sociology as the theory for the establishment of type relationships. By studying the relations of persons in specific positions to other persons in the society, and particularly by studying the ideal norms for such relations it was assumed possible to describe the social structure of a society. By studying for instance the ideal or type relationship between a person and all his relatives of the parents' generation an important part of the kinship structure could be described. Since certain type relationships prevailed in many societies one could in the last analysis by this approach construct types of structures and elaborate typologies of societies (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952). Thus, characteristic for Radcliffe-Brown methodology are at least (a) the tendency to make typologies and elaborate classifications, (b) the search for what is considered ideal rather than descriptions of actual behavior in the societies under study, (c) the description of social structure on the basis of observations of concrete and primary personal relations and (4) the use of structural unit concepts rather than quantitative variables (Marsh, 1966).

The neo-structuralists have formulated their positions to a great extent in a direct opposition to Radcliffe-Brown's methodology. Claude Levi-Strauss and Edmund Leach as the foremost representatives for this school do not look upon social structure as a phenomenon which can be observed by detailed study of primary and concrete personal relations alone. Social structures are models of reality, or ways of classifying and ordering experience in the societies or cultures under study. In all cultures there are underlying principles or styles which express themselves in diverse and overt manifestations. In a sense it is assumed that there are structural patterns of higher and lower order. The structural patterns of higher order or the underlying principles are what has to be reconstituted in structural analysis. This position has at least two very important consequences. First, most social change concerns only the overt and superficial manifestations whereas the underlying principles often remain unchanged. Levi-Strauss in particular has stressed how all cultures are strongly

restricting: even in innovations there are only a limited number of combinations of ideas. This assumption has important consequences for the study of social change (Claude Levi-Strauss, 1963). Second, because social structures are ideal models by which people order the world, several conflicting social structures can exist in the same society or at least in the same geographical area. This is very evident from Leach's famous work on political systems in Highland Burma in which the people in the Kachin Hills area have before them two quite contradictory ideal modes of life and political behavior. One of these is the Shan system, which resembles a feudal hierarchy, while the other is referred to by Leach as the gumlao type organization which is essentially egalitarian in nature. People switch back and forth between these two structures complying in different contexts and situations to the demands of both (Leach, 1964).

Talcott Parsons's evolutionary functionalism, presented mainly in Parsons' most recent work, is based on the assumption that there are functional requirements which have to be met in all societies, and that special institutions and groups emerge in order to fulfill these functions. However, with the evolution of the society, and particularly with the increasing differentiation new functions arise and thereby also new institutions. In the outset a society is characterized as a system of ascriptive solidarities based on kinship and geographical proximity. On the lowest evolutionary level the kinship groups can fulfill the functions of adaptation to the external world, the attainment and formulation of goals, social integration and the maintenance of traditions and order, but with increasing specialization, occurring in the beginning mainly between the different kinship groups, new institutions and groups will arise. By this combination of evolutionary and functionalist principles Parsons aims at constructing a frame of reference for what he calls structural morphology (Parsons, 1966). Some anthropologists, and notably Julian Steward and Leslie White, have advanced views resembling those of Parsons. Steward has stressed the importance of searching for regularities in evolutionary patterns and the possibilities of outlining successive evolutionary stages (Manners, 1964).

It is apparent that the neo-structuralist view, as it has been advanced by Leach, for instance, is clearly different from Parsons' approach. Leach assumes that the wish to gain power is a very general motive in society but since there can exist several simultaneous social structures and the same social behavior means different things in different structures it is never justifiable to interpret social action as directed towards particular goals or towards the fulfillment of particular functional exigencies (Leach).

The above mentioned three schools of comparative analysis have been compared and analyzed in detail by Robert Marsh, (Marsh, 1967), particularly in relation to how well they describe the process and degree of increasing differentiation. Here it may suffice with two general viewpoints. The first is that it seems reasonable -- unless one is completely committed to one of the three schools -- to admit that all three schools contain useful and applicable ideas in the comparative description of social structures. This contention could also be given a negative form. There does not seem to exist any single theory or even a general classification scheme which alone is sufficient for good descriptions of national social structures at least as far as more advanced societies are concerned. In descriptive studies of national social structures the researchers usually borrow elements from several different theories or theoretical approaches. This is in a way a natural state of affairs since the information asked for in description of national social structures is very diverse and kaleidoscopic. It almost goes without saying that the relative merit of all these schools or rather approaches has to be judged on the basis of what kind of information is asked for. This is also a problem which later will be discussed in relation to the comparative study of sports.

The second viewpoint is that the three above-mentioned schools contain theories or theoretical formulations which are useful or at least are at their best when only a few societies are compared. The concepts by which these theories are formulated are mostly structural unit concepts and not the kind of quantitative variables required for a great number of societies. These theories can also be described as frames of references giving useful concepts and classification schemes rather than as theoretical systems containing logically interrelated and testable, universal propositions. These two conditions (1) the existence of concepts denoting quantitative variables and (2) the existence of universal, testable propositions, are to a much higher degree met by a fourth approach to comparative analysis.

This fourth approach, the quantitative analysis of a great number of societies, can hardly be described as a specific school as it has representatives in different fields and in the study of different subject matters. In social anthropology the most outstanding representatives have been George Peter Murdock and his colleagues basing their studies on the Human Relations Area Files at Yale (Murdock, 1963). In political science some of the leading scholars have been Karl Deutsch and his colleagues basing themselves on the Yale Political Data Program (Merritt and Rokkan, 1966). An abundance of scholars and researchers working by and large in the same direction could be mentioned. Social scientists working with comparative studies of a great number of societies do not share any

clearly crystallized views concerning the nature and structure of society, and in this sense it would be grossly misleading to speak of any particular school. However, researchers working with quantitative comparative analysis share at least to some extent certain views concerning the use of quantitative methods. It is a triviality to state that they all use some form of quantitative methodology since there hardly are any other possibilities in the study of a great number of nations and cultures. More important, however, is a certain commitment to the search for higher order generalizations which explain many diverse actual and observed phenomena.

The search for higher-order generalizations has taken two main forms which although they can be combined also exist as separate approaches. The first approach consists of the search for basic structural dimensions by the aid of multivariate statistical analysis. In striving to establish a set of basic structural dimensions by multivariate analysis one takes advantage of the fact that observed structural variables correlate among themselves. Thereby it becomes natural to try to explain the variation in a few theoretical, unmeasured variables. The most typical methods for finding basic dimensions are perhaps provided by factor analysis and other closely related models: in these it is considered that a small number of unmeasured variables can be substituted for a great number of observed variables. Of course, the application of statistical multivariate techniques is not the only way to isolate basic structural dimensions. The traditional method is that of theoretical speculation and theory building. Classical sociological typologies, such as Emile Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity and Ferdinand Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, denote types of societies but they are either defined by variables which can be specified and treated as continuous variables or can as such be treated as continua. The second approach in searching for higher order generalizations consists of attempts at building axiomatic theories in which hypotheses of lower order can be deduced from hypotheses of higher order.

The representatives of quantitative comparative methodology have also been severely criticized. The heaviest critique has probably been raised within the field of social anthropology in which the Murdockian method has been charged with being based on inadequate analysis of the societies being compared. It has been asserted that social structures cannot be studied simply by mechanically assembling and correlating cultural items for the cultures of the world. While these criticisms may lead to a healthy degree of caution in the use of cross-cultural and cross-national data they contain also often gross exaggerations and sometimes misrepresentations.

Two viewpoints may be advanced in order to put the quantitative comparative methodology in a proper perspective. First, cross-national and cross-cultural studies of a great number of countries rely, of course, heavily on results from more intensive studies. The intensive studies of a few societies and the extensive study of many societies are of course by no means incompatible.

Second, it is clear that the objectives in comparative studies of a few and of many countries are different. In studies of a few countries there is a tendency to search for unique features. Social groups and institutions are meant to be described in detail. The objectives in studying a great number of countries are of course different. Instead of searching for unique properties, comparisons of a large number of countries usually start by finding or isolating a number of dimensions on which the countries under study vary. Instead of enumerating specific institutions or groups and their functions, quantitative studies will usually start by ways one can label state-descriptions. The studies assume that different countries vary on dimensions such as the degree of mobilization, degree of differentiation in the degree of division of labor, the degree of modernization, etc. The values of these usually quantitative variables denote states or general conditions in the societies under study, without necessarily specifying the behavior in particular institutions or groups. A comparative approach that uses a set of dimensions as a point of departure leads to generalizations of a higher order than descriptions of national social structures in terms of institutions and groups. To be sure, the former leads to higher order generalizations and greater scientific economy but, on the other hand, it also leads to a greater degree of simplification than the latter. However, these two approaches are clearly supplementing each other. Findings of qualitative and intensive studies of a few societies are necessary for the interpretation of variables and results in quantitative studies of many societies, whereas the results from the latter clearly give hypotheses and ideas for the former.

Since the beginning of the 1950's particularly there has been a great onstorm of quantitative comparative studies in sociology and political science. With the existence of intensive studies of many national social structures, new multivariate statistical methods and new computer facilities it has become increasingly possible to make reliable comparisons of many societies. Serious problems remain and they appear often to be particularly difficult in the quantitative analysis of many societies. On the other hand, quantitative comparative research often also contains the most serious and formalized attempts to solve these problems. It is therefore worthwhile to discuss some methodological problems particularly related to the quantitative studies of a large number of societies. Two of the main problems may be labeled the problem of relevance and the problem of equivalence.

The Problem of Relevance

Quantitative comparative studies of many societies are sometimes charged with being unable to include variables relevant for understanding the societies and for constructing powerful theories. At least partly this charge is based on lack of knowledge about the possibilities of obtaining different kinds of variables. It might be stated that quantitative comparative studies could, and in terms of their objectives often should, include at least the following types of variables:

(1) While most variables are quantitative, or at least represent ordinal scales, it is obvious that many studies need to include also qualitative variables such as simple dichotomies. This is particularly true for such national characteristics which, following the terminology of Paul Lazarsfeld, are labeled global and which cannot be reduced to or constructed from observations of the behavior of individuals. One such variable is for instance whether a country has the death penalty or not. The knowledge of whether a country has the death penalty or not is of course obtained by observations of behavior, but the fact that the death penalty exists or not characterizes the whole society and cannot be constructed from variations in individual responses.

(2) When intra-country and intra-culture variations exist it becomes important in comparative studies to include variables measuring dispersion or variance. Most cross-national comparisons rely on national averages only, probably because data about dispersion are harder to obtain. Measures of inequality are good examples of variables which are based on information about variation

(3) Comparative studies can include both synchronic variables, that is, measures of a phenomenon at one specific point in time, and diachronic variables, that is, measures of developmental patterns. Measures of the rise in the income per capita are good examples of the latter.

(4) When great intra-country variations exist it may sometimes be necessary to obtain measures which do not represent averages or variance of the behavior of individuals but measures which are averages or variance for phenomena related to territorial units. In earlier methodological discussions it was common to speak of the ecological fallacy, that is, the fallacy of making inferences about individuals on the basis of ecological correlations. Today there is awareness of the fact that there are also individualistic fallacies (Scheuch). Territorial units are important in their own right. It might for instance be very important to know whether there is great

territorial variation in the distribution of income or wealth in different societies.

(5) Some quantitative studies may include not only measures of singular phenomena but also correlations as variables. If comparisons are done with the help of survey research it is often interesting to compare whole response patterns instead of just responses to singular questions. One illuminating study focusing on comparisons of correlations or response patterns is Alex Inkeles' study on Industrial Man (Inkeles, 1960). His study is based on survey data and he employs very simple statistical techniques but the general principle of his research design is worth mentioning. He is not comparing single responses but response patterns in different countries. He is not, for example, comparing national differences of the number of people who laugh and cry often, but he is comparing whether differences in crying and laughing remain the same between occupational groups when one moves from country to country. When multivariate statistical techniques such as factor analysis are used response patterns or correlations become of course the main foci in the analysis.

Everyone familiar with the forms of elaboration of survey data, and particularly with the logic of survey analysis in the form it has been established by Lazarsfeld and his associates, knows that results concerning the association between only two variables seldom are theoretically interesting. The most interesting results are usually those which are specified by using additional variables. This is to say that the most fruitful results are those in which whole patterns, or associations between several variables, are replicated or specified. In Sutton-Smith's and his associates study of game playing in different cultures whole patterns are compared and the results are replicated and specified. Results concerning the relationship between cultural variables and game playing are specified by introducing, for example, social status and sex as additional variables (Sutton-Smith, Roberts, and Kozelka, 1965).

The Problem of Equivalence

The toughest problem in cross-national research is the problem of equivalence. How can we be sure that indicators and variables obtained from different countries and cultures actually measure the same phenomenon. Conventional methods for measuring reliability can of course be applied but the most difficult problems are related to the validity of the indicators. The observed variables used in comparative research are usually assumed to be indicators for more theoretical concepts and variables. In many studies for

instance within the field of political sociology measures of insecurity are needed. In some countries, however, insecurity is related to the employment situation while in other countries insecurity is mainly related to housing conditions. Does it mean that we have to use different indicators for insecurity in different countries? Another example may be taken from the Scandinavian countries in which religious activity in rural areas often reflects some kind of traditionalism whereas in the same way measured religious activity in urban areas reflects non-conformity and deviation from non-religious ways of life in the cities. How are we to find out that religious activity as an indicator has different meanings in rural and urban areas?

Paul Lazarsfeld has spoken about the interchangeability of indices, (Lazarsfeld, 1959), and Karl Deutsch has referred to the same phenomenon in comparative research (Deutsch, 1961). This interchangeability means, by and large, that if one indicator in some cases is missing or is impossible to obtain it can be replaced by other ones. However, in comparative research one also runs into situations where, in fact, the same indicator or variable operationally defined in the same way representing a higher order theoretical concept would lead to erroneous results when applied to different societies.

The intention here is merely to point to the problem of equivalence but some attempts at solutions may be referred to briefly. In the first instance, we have a statistical rule of thumb. If there is a great number of units and a great number of variables, those variables which show zero correlations with practically all other variables can be considered unreliable and should usually be eliminated from the analysis. Variables with low reliability, that is, strongly influenced by chance variations, are of course also low in validity. Sometimes, however, zero-correlations do not reflect low reliability but the fact that an indicator represents different things in different societies, that is, it has low validity as a cross-national measure. However, in such cases the elimination of an indicator may mean the elimination of very important information. The fact that an observed variable, although reliably measured reflects different things in different contexts may be of real cross-cultural significance.

It seems reasonable to assume that the validity of an indicator or an operationally measured variable has to be tested by deciding how well it functions within a theoretical framework or within a system of interrelated propositions. The validity of an indicator cannot be tested by studying one proposition or one

hypothesis alone. If a proposition is related to other propositions, testing the validity of the indicators consists of an analysis of how well an indicator functions together with other indicators. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, or in other words, the test of the validity of an indicator lies in its suitability within a whole theory. The problem is that it is hard to formulate precise criteria for suitability, and that rigorous testing of the validity of an indicator requires a high degree of formalization. In any case, it seems reasonable to state that strict and formalized theorizing is more important in cross-national studies than in many other fields. When doing national studies or studies of narrow subjects, the researcher may have hunches about the validity of his indicators and operational definitions. He is able to assess the face validity of his indicators. In comparative research in which many and greatly varying environments are compared it is humanly impossible to have hunches about the face validity of the indicators. Unless the researcher in cross-national research has a theory or some system of hypotheses he is likely to meet with a situation in which he regards phenomena which are actually different and which measure different things as similar.

It should be pointed out that this basic idea of requiring that the validity of indicators has to be tested by studying how well they function together within a systematic theoretical framework is actually applied when using some advanced forms of multivariate analysis. In the field of factor analysis one promising method is that of transformation analysis by which the factor structure for one group is transformed into the factor space of another group. Thereby it becomes possible to study the invariance of factor structures when comparing different groups for which factor analyses of the same data have been performed separately (Ahmavaara, 1954). The methods suggested for measuring the degree of invariance of factor analytic results are attempts to solve the problem of equivalence.

Basic Approaches in the Comparative Study of Sports

It was already suggested that the relative merits of different approaches in comparative research have to be assessed by first deciding what kinds of information is called for in different studies. Within the field of the sociology of sports three basic general problem areas which call for different approaches can be outlined. The three problem areas may be labeled as follows:

- (1) Sports and sport activities as highly symptomatic behavior,

(2) Cultural and structural explanations of variations in sport activities, and

(3) Sports and social organization related to sport activities as agencies for promoting social welfare and accommodating strains in the society.

(1) By stating that sports and sport activities are highly symptomatic it is implied that sociological studies of sports can be of great interest also to those who are not interested in sports and athletics per se. It also assumes that there is great variation as regards the degree to which different behaviors and behavior in different institutional realms reflect underlying cultural differences. First, some behaviors are fairly universal and by definition they do not reflect cultural differences. Second, some other behaviors vary among cultures but the variation can be explained by differences in the degree of technological development. Some highly technical activities such as work activities in building cars and airplanes are about to become internationally standardized, and differences between societies reflect mainly differences in the degree of technical development. They do not however reflect differences in underlying cultural patterns. Third, there are behaviors which mainly reflect more stable and deep-seated cultural patterns and configurations. Natural languages reflect such cultural patterns in a high degree. In other words, it is assumed that there are differences between a) universal behavior, b) evolution-prone behavior and c) culture-prone behavior. It is the last category which is called symptomatic here. There are reasons for assuming that sport activities and games, particularly in their traditional national forms, reflect cultural configurations and stable patterns. If one along with the neo-structuralists, can assume that there exists in the cultures distinct styles or underlying configurations traditional sports or games are likely to be interesting objects in the study of cultures. It is true that sport activities have become highly internationalized and technical but national traditional forms can still be analyzed. Sociological studies of modern societies largely neglect cultural variables and there is, in fact, a great need for studies of behaviors which can be assumed to reflect cultural differences.

(2) Most comparative studies of sports will probably focus on the problem of explaining differences in the popularity of different forms of sport activities. For this purpose the quantitative approach, whether in the form used by Murdock in social anthropology or in other forms, seems to be the most appropriate. It should, however, be remembered that these studies should not focus only on national

averages. It is probably often interesting to focus on whether there are variations in the degree to which sports and sport activities are restricted to special groups. In some countries certain sport forms have clearly the character of upper class sports whereas this is not the case in other countries. Likewise differences between the sexes by country could be interesting from general comparative perspectives. Of sociological interest are of course not only sport and athletic activities *per se* but also the kind of social organization related to sport. Variables denoting organizational patterns are certainly possible to construct

(3) As a third problem area within the sociology of sport there is the analysis of the social functions of sport and athletic activities. Here Parsons' evolutionary functionalism could provide significant hypotheses and a useful theoretical framework. Many games and outdoor activities have started within the boundaries of the neighborhood and the family system. With increasing differentiation these games and sport activities have become more formalized and organized by new institutions. In the course of development sport activities have themselves become increasingly differentiated. One of the most important distinctions concern the differences between spectator sports and sport as recreation. These two forms of interest in sport fulfill supposedly very different functions in modern societies, and these functions have at least to my knowledge, never been properly analyzed. Most statements about functions focus on individual needs only. Everybody knows that recreational sport might help in keeping a person healthy while spectator sports might satisfy needs of expression and aggression. Supposedly, however, sport activities have also effects on the total social system in a society and these social or systemic functions could be studied systematically. Particularly one problem has a certain urgency. Today there is much planning in the field of sports and athletics, and this planning is of course concerned with some assumed effects or manifest functions of sports. Planning in the field of sports does of course also have unintended consequences or latent functions such as strengthening of nationalism or intense feelings of local and regional patriotism, or particularly in new nations the creation of national identities. Some of the developing nations could prove to be very intriguing fields of study. They do not have the same cultural traditions as Western societies but at the same time there exists in these societies a great need to establish both a national identity and a place in the world of nations. This may very well lead to various kinds of cultural conflicts since Western and European forms of sport may conflict with their cultural traditions. In any case, developing nations are natural laboratories for studying increasing differentiation in the social functions of sports and games.

Towards a Typology in the Comparative Study of Sports

When research is promoted in a certain field of social science there is usually a call for more empirical research. This is at least very true for sociology. The result is that we often get numerous but unrelated research findings of a low degree of generality and theoretical interest. Zetterberg, among others, has pointed out there is in sociology a real abundance of research findings and propositions which remain unrelated (Zetterberg, 1965). An important part of the research activity in a given field in terms of generally accepted scientific objectives should therefore be devoted to construction of theories or explanatory systematic typologies on the basis of already established research findings. It should be admitted that the behavioral study of sport is a very novel activity, and that, accordingly, there is not a richness of research findings which could serve as a basis for the construction of theories. However, the problem of ordering the research findings in some systematic way will very soon arise, and attention may be given to this problem already in this stage of the development of the discipline. Some studies within the comparative study of sport contain systematic efforts to relate propositions to each other. As a good example we may again refer to Sutton-Smith's and his colleagues' study on games (Sutton-Smith, Roberts and Kozelka).

In the following, a simple comparative typology aimed at explaining the relative popularity of different kinds of sport activities will be presented. It is not based at all on firmly confirmed empirical findings, and many of its propositions may appear odd. It is presented mainly in order to indicate that ordering of sociological propositions into systems may sometimes be done by rather simple means.

The construction of the typology starts with the assumption that some basic dimensions are important explanatory variables in almost any comparative study. Three such variables, which in the typology have a position of explanatory, independent variables, are used. They are

- the degree of differentiation in the division of labor,
- the degree or the strength of social and political constraints in a society, and
- the degree of severity in obedience training during the childhood.

The variables will not here be more precisely defined. It is assumed that they all are somehow ostensibly defined. It is also assumed that not only societies but also subgroups within societies vary on these dimensions. Social and political constraints are assumed to be particularly strong in a) small tribal societies, b) societies with a rigid class structure, and c) modern political dictatorships.

The general dependent variable is the relative popularity of games and sport activities. Popularity can of course be operationally defined in different ways, through measures of actual participation, through studies of attitudes, through measures of spectator involvement, etc. No particular indicator or operational definition of popularity will here be suggested because, as was earlier stated, the suitability of the indicators has to be decided by analyzing how well the indicators function in an empirical test of the whole theoretical system. Therefore, the dependent variable is called relative popularity and not simply popularity. This is because the total volume of sport activity may be much greater in one country than in another, and therefore a sport which has a relatively low popularity rank in one country may have more supporters than in another country in which the same sport has a higher popularity rank.

The sport activities are in the typology classified according to the following criteria:

- whether the activity has formalized rules or not;
- whether the activity requires more physical strength than technique, and vice versa,
- whether the activity requires direct bodily aggression against other persons, and
- whether a sport activity occurs in teams or is pursued as an individual activity.

These criteria have of course to be further specified if actually used in empirical research. For the sake of simplicity all propositions in the following will be formulated by a simple dichotomization of all variables. The following four propositions may now be formulated as points of departure of axioms in the theoretical system:

- (1) The higher the division of labor, the more formalized the rules of the activities.

- (2) The stronger the social and political constraints, the more important is physical strength and the less important technical skills.
- (3) The more severe the obedience training, the more aggressive are the activities.

The fourth axiom is of a slightly more complicated nature and explicates a relationship between three variables. On the basis of previous research it can be stated that solidarity and cohesiveness in societies of low division of labor is obtained when social constraints are strong, whereas solidarity and cohesiveness in societies of high division of labor on the contrary are obtained when there are weak social constraints (Allardt, 1966). It is further assumed that solidarity and cohesiveness in a society will lead to a popularity of team sports, and we can now formulate our fourth axiom in the following manner:

- (4) The lower the division of labor and the stronger the social constraints, the more popular are team sports, and also the higher the division of labor and the weaker the constraints, the more popular are team sports.

If the three independent variables now are cross tabulated and the content of the hypotheses are written into the cells of the table we can arrive at certain hypotheses about what sports are popular in different societies:

		Division of Labor			
		Low		High	
Social and Political Constraints	Obedience training	Severe	Non-severe	Severe	Non-severe
	Strong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-Formalized - Physical strength - Aggressive - Team Village fights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-formalized - Physical strength - Non-aggressive - Team Tug of war	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formalized - Physical strength - Aggressive - Individual Boxing Wrestling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formalized - Physical strength - Non-aggressive - Individual Track and field
	Weak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-formalized - Technical - Aggressive - Individual Hunting, and training for hunting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-formalized - Technical - Non-aggressive - Individual Hardly any sport at all	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formalized - Technical - Aggressive - Team American foot- ball, rugby	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formalized - Technical - Non-aggressive - Team Baseball Soccer

The table presents a typology but it can also be read as containing crosscultural hypotheses such as: In societies of low division of labor, strong social and political constraints and severe obedience training there is likelihood that non-formalized, aggressive games requiring physical strength and team play are popular.

The typologizing of different sport activities and the arriving at hypotheses by cross-tabulating the independent variables may appear as a rather unnecessary activity. However, such a typologizing is often the first step in theory building. In any case, attempts at ordering hypotheses in some fashion are necessary for arriving at meaningful hypotheses for empirical research.

The typology of the theory contained in the table may be wrong -- it is certainly very primitive and formally unsatisfactory. The examples of sports mentioned in the table may be badly chosen. The typology is, however, not entirely meaningless. It invites critical remarks and a better formulation of cross-national and cross-cultural hypotheses. If this is the case the typology serves its purpose.

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The Quest for Excitement in Unexciting Societies

by

Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning

1 The excitement which is the subject of this paper is that which people seek in their leisure time. It differs in certain respects from other types of excitement especially from that which people experience in seriously critical situations -- in a street when crowds gather angrily and men begin to fight, in a zoo when beasts break loose and men scatter hurriedly, in a war when men kill each other like wild beasts, on a stock exchange when shares fall and fall and the bottom drops out of the market. However, in the more advanced industrial societies of our time, compared with societies at an earlier stage of development, occasions for strong excitement openly expressed have become rarer. Within each of these societies, though not in their relations with each other, many of the more elementary crisis situations of mankind, from famine to violence, from floods to infectious diseases, have been brought under stricter control than ever before. And so have men's passions. Outbreaks of strong excitement, especially of communal excitement, have become less frequent. Seriously excited people are liable to be taken to hospital or to prison. The apparatus for excitement control, the sociological and the psychological apparatus, has become more effective than it used to be. Social demands and personal propensities for containing passionate excitement in public, and even in private have become stronger. Not strong, but stronger. The comparative is significant. Even in the most highly developed contemporary societies, standards of excitement control as of restraint in general, may still appear uneven and low if seen by themselves, if one does not use as a yardstick comparisons with the standards of societies at an earlier stage of development.

2. As far as one can tell, social and personal restraints of some kind can be found in all human societies. But the relatively strong and even cover of restraints characteristic of men in more differentiated and complex societies, as has been shown elsewhere (Elias, 1939), emerges in the course of a specific transformation of social and personal structures. It is symptomatic of a fairly advanced civilising process, which in turn stands in circular interdependence with the advancing effectiveness of the specialized controlling organisation of complex societies, of the organisation of the state.

Social developments towards greater emotional restraint, however, are apt to go hand in hand with counter-moves towards a relative loosening of restraint. In most known societies, one can

find more or less institutionalised occasions where ordinary constraints are to some extent relaxed. The Dionysian festivals of the ancient Greeks, the religious excitement or "enthusiasm" as Aristotle called it, the carnivals of medieval Christian communities, are examples. A special class of leisure activities, the "mimetic" class, mutatis mutandis, has similar functions in the more differentiated societies of our own age. At present in the second half of the twentieth century, one can just observe, in societies where the development of civilising restraints has gone comparatively far, specific counter-spurts in the opposite direction. Some contemporary forms of dancing and of music are examples. They represent a moderate break through the ordinary cover of restraints, an enlargement of the scope and the depth of open excitement, particularly among the young.

But in contemporary societies of this type it is no longer a framework of religious usages and beliefs which provides scope for a balancing relaxation of restraints. The excitements which are allowed to rise in these societies -- in connection with specific changes in their structure and particularly in the distribution of power between different age-groups -- are of a special kind. They are the excitements, the feeling of being moved or thrilled and the corresponding actions, with which people respond to specific leisure activities, to mimetic performances, from sport to music and drama, from murder and western to avant-garde films, from hunting to fishing, from racing to painting, from gambling to swinging and rocking--according to taste. As one can see, it is a comparatively civilised type of excitement which one encounters here. The quest for excitement, for the Aristotelian "enthusiasm", in our leisure activities is complementary to the control and restraint of excitement in our ordinary life. One cannot understand the one without the other.

3. The polarisation which begins to emerge here differs considerably from the standard polarisation which at present dominates discussions of leisure -- that between leisure and work. If one begins to examine them, it is easy to recognize that, even in sociological discussions, the concepts of "work" and "leisure" are often used rather loosely. Present usages make it difficult to decide whether a housewife's duties or, for that matter, a professor's gardening are to be rated as work, or the play of a professional footballer as leisure. It is difficult, too, to decide whether Veblen was right in coining the concept of "leisure class" for the upper classes of earlier societies, with the implication that the work of commercial and industrial classes is the only type of occupation to which one can apply the concept of "work", and that the occupations of noblemen and gentlemen were all leisure and fun. If theoretical and empirical work on problems of leisure is not as advanced as one might wish, it is due, in no small degree, to this value-heritage and the conceptual ambiguities resulting from it.

4. In the conventional polarisation of work and leisure, the term "work" usually refers only to a specific type of work -- to the type of work which people in more differentiated and urbanised societies do in order to earn a living, to a highly specialised and time-regulated type of paid occupational work. But even in these societies, most people have to do a good deal of work in their spare time. Only a portion of their spare time can be devoted to leisure in the sense of a freely chosen and unpaid occupation of one's time--chosen because it is enjoyable. A good deal of one's spare time is usually devoted to what one might call "private work". It would fit the facts better if one distinguished more sharply between spare time and leisure. Spare time, according to present linguistic usages, is the whole time free from occupational work. Only part of it, in societies such as ours, can be devoted to leisure activities. Broadly, one can distinguish four different spheres in people's spare time which shade into each other and overlap in a variety of ways, but which nevertheless represent different classes of activities, and to some extent raise different problems

The sphere of private work and family management To this sphere belong many household activities, including the provision of a home itself. Here also belong all major purchases, all the various financial transactions one has to make, all major planning for the future, as well as the management of one's children, the settling of disputes within the family and many related tasks. This sphere and the skills needed for it are apt to take up more time as the standard of living rises. As a field of research, apart from such problems as those of household expenditure, the field of private work and family management is still largely virgin territory. Many of the activities connected with it are hard work. Much of it has to be done, whether one likes it or not. One can hardly call it leisure.

The sphere of rest. The activities of this field can be called leisure, but they are clearly distinct from sport and a host of other leisure activities mentioned later. Examples are: doing nothing, sitting and smoking or knitting, day-dreaming, pottering about the house, and above all sleeping.

The sphere of sociability. This, too, is non-work, though it may involve considerable effort. It ranges from highly formal to highly informal sociability with many intermediary grades. In this sphere belong activities such as visiting colleagues or superiors, dropping in on relatives or friends, going for an outing with the firm, going to a pub, a club, a restaurant, a party, gossiping with neighbours, being with people without doing much else, as an end in itself. The types of sociability as a form of spending one's spare time, as far as one can see, differ greatly in different strata of society. Like

the spheres of rest and sociability this sphere is still largely unexplored.

The mimetic or play sphere. In most cases, discussions of leisure activities are focused on activities of this type. This paper itself is concerned with this sphere alone, for the leisure-time pursuits which belong to it have this in common: they provide a specific type of pleasurable excitement which is different from the often far from pleasurable type of excitement which people experience in seriously critical situations. It seemed necessary to draw up this classification of spare-time activities, otherwise it would not have been possible to distinguish this class of leisure activities from others and to give precision to our problem. In this sphere belong such leisure pursuits as playing football or bridge, going to a theatre or a concert, to the races or the cinema, hunting, fishing, gambling, dancing and others which have been mentioned before. Activities in this sphere have the character of spare-time and of leisure activities whether one takes part in them as an actor or as a spectator, as long as one does not take part in them as a specialized occupation from which one earns a living, in that case, they cease to be leisure activities and are work entailing all the obligations and restraints characteristic of work in societies of our type -- even if the activities as such are felt to be highly enjoyable.

The term "play" can be employed in a variety of senses and the looseness with which it is often used opens up the way for specific difficulties and misunderstandings. Although we have tried to indicate clearly the sense in which we use the term, it seemed useful to have at one's disposal a more specialised term for the class of spare-time activities to which we refer here. The choice of the term "mimetic" will be explained later. The emotional restraint of occupational work extends, as an unshakeable habit of restraint, far into the non-occupational life of people. The specific function of sport, theatre, racing, and all the other activities and events usually associated with the term "leisure", of all the mimetic activities and events, has to be assessed in relation to this ubiquity and steadiness of excitement control. This is the polarity with which we are concerned here. In the form of this class of leisure events our society provides for the need to experience the upsurge of strong emotions in public -- for a type of excitement which does not disturb and endanger the relative orderliness of social life as the serious type of excitement is liable to do.

5. It may well be that some people will detect a note of mockery in the use of the term "unexciting" with reference to our type of society. What has been said may help to give precision to the sense in which the term is used here. It refers to the type and degree of restraint which is imposed in our type of society upon the spontaneous, elementary and

unreflected type of excitements, in joy as in sorrow, in love as in hatred. The extremes of powerful and passionate outbursts have been dampened by built-in restraints, maintained by social controls, which, in part, are built-in so deeply that they cannot be shaken off.

However, the term "exciting" is often used today in a less specific and more figurative sense. One would lay oneself open to misunderstanding if one did not say that in this wider and figurative sense, our societies are far from unexciting. In this sense, one would not be wholly unjustified in regarding the age, the societies in which we live as among the most exciting in the development of mankind. It is probably true to say that since the Renaissance few periods have offered to those who lived in them so great a chance as ours for experimentation with new thoughts and forms and for the gradual freeing of the imagination from traditional fetters. In spite of the threat of war, there is great promise in the air, and that is exciting.

But the excitement of which we speak in this paper is of a different kind. It is less reflective, less dependent on foresight, knowledge, and on the ability to free oneself for a short while from the oppressive burden of suffering and danger which surrounds us. We are concerned with the spontaneous and elementary excitement which has probably been inimical to the orderliness of life throughout man's history. In a society in which the propensities for the serious and threatening type of excitement have diminished, the compensatory function of play-excitement has increased. With the help of this type of excitement, the mimetic sphere offers again and again the chance, as it were, for a new "refreshment of the soul" in the otherwise even tenor of ordinary social life. In certain respects, of which more will have to be said later, play-excitement differs from the other type. It is excitement which we seek voluntarily. To experience it we have, often enough, to pay. And, in contrast to the other type, it is always pleasurable excitement and in a form which, within limits, can be enjoyed with the social consent of others and with that of our own consciences.

It is not enough to treat occupational work alone as the counter-pole of leisure and to try to explain the characteristics and the functions of people's leisure activities only with reference to those of occupational work. In relatively well-ordered societies such as ours routinisation captures all spheres of life, including the sphere of greatest intimacy. It is not confined to factory work or to clerical, managerial and other similar activities. Unless the organism is intermittently flushed and stirred by some exciting experience with the help of strong feelings, overall routinisation and restraint as

conditions of orderliness and security are apt to engender a dryness of the emotions, a feeling of monotony of which the emotional monotony of work is only one example. For it is not as a property of work, but as that of the feelings engendered in those who do it that one has to assess the character of monotony. There are people who do not feel bored by "monotonous" work. The peculiar emotional stimulation and refreshment provided by the mimetic class of leisure activities, culminating in pleasurable tension and excitement, represents a more or less highly institutionalized counterpart to the strength and evenness of emotional restraints required by all classes of purposeful activities of people in more differentiated and civilised societies. The pleasurable play-excitement which people seek in their leisure hours, thus represents at the same time the complement and the antithesis to the periodic tendency towards staleness of emotional valencies in the purposeful, the "rational" routines of life, while the structure of mimetic organisations and institutions themselves represents the antithesis and the complement to that of formally impersonal and task-directed institutions which leave little room for passionate emotions or fluctuations of mood. As a complement to the world of purposeful task-directed and highly impersonal activities, leisure institutions, whether theatres and concerts, or races and cricket matches, are anything but representative of an "unreal" fantasy world. The mimetic sphere forms a distinct and integral part of social "reality."

6. With this polarisation as the point of departure, one can see more clearly the basic problem with which one is faced in studying leisure. It resolves itself, broadly speaking, into two interdependent questions:

What are the characteristics of personal leisure needs developed in the more complex and civilised societies of our time?

What are the characteristics of the specific types of leisure events developed in societies of this type for the satisfaction of these needs?

It seems useful, in order to clear the way for closer and more detached examination, to single out the need for a particular type of pleasurable excitement and to place it in the centre of the first problem. One can show that the need for it is at the core of most play needs. Excitement is, as it were, the spice of all play-enjoyment. It is perhaps not so easy to see the aims and implications of question two. One of the reasons why it seemed necessary to use a specific term for all leisure events which can reasonably be classified as mimetic, was the recognition that all these events have a specific structure which enables them to satisfy specific leisure needs.

It seemed useful to conceptualize the characteristics which make leisure events such as sports, concerts, films and television fit to serve men's needs for leisure enjoyment as inherent in their structure. It is, we hope, not presumptuous to say that, although one is used to speaking of the structure of factories or of families, one has not yet got to a point where one is used to speaking of the structure of leisure events. Yet once one reaches this point, it is not difficult to see that the heart of the problem of leisure lies in the relationship between the structure of the leisure needs characteristic of our type of society and the structure of the events designed to satisfy these needs.

We were first confronted with the problem of this correspondence between the structure of leisure needs and the structure of leisure events in our studies of football (1966). In the course of these studies we could not help noticing that a particular type of group dynamics, a specific tension-balance in the game, in short a structure which could be clearly analysed, was felt as immensely exciting and enjoyable, while another type of configuration, equally open to clear configurational analysis, was clearly regarded as unexciting and disappointing. It was in this context that we were first confronted with the problem which, mutatis mutandis, can be raised with regard to all mimetic events: the problem, which we have already formulated, of the correspondence between socially generated leisure needs and the structure of the socially instituted leisure events which are designed to fulfill them. We are not suggesting that raising and clarifying the problem is by itself enough to indicate a definite solution. It is a complex problem and some of the difficulties one encounters in exploring it will have to be stated explicitly. While we do not suggest that we can or shall present a complete solution in this paper, what we hope to be able to do is to take a few steps towards a solution. One of the main difficulties with this type of problem, and probably one of the reasons why one has so far made little progress with it, lies in the fact that it is a problem which straddles the frontiers of several sciences.

Some physiological aspects of the excitement syndrome have been studied by specialists such as Walter B. Cannon and others (1929, 1947). They provide a picture of the principal somatic changes of animals and men when confronted with a sudden critical situation. The picture is sufficiently clear to enable us, at least tentatively, to suggest possibilities of correspondence between the organic structures of an excitement reaction and the social structures of the events which elicit them. But physiological enquiries have been concentrated on the more unpleasurable types of excitement. The results have been summed up with the help of concepts such as "emergency" or "alarm" reactions (Constantinides and Cary, 1962). One has seen the physiological

apparatus of excitement almost entirely in connection with hunger, fear, rage and, in general, as a specific reaction to sudden danger. We appear to know relatively little about the excitement syndrome associated with pleasure. But in spite of this limitation, physiological investigations show, as nothing else can do, the excitement syndrome as a change of gear which concerns the whole organism on all levels, and without at least some understanding of the overall change in the multi-polar tension balance of the whole organism, one cannot understand the isomorphism between the structure of exciting leisure events, for instance an exciting football match, and the change of gear in the mass of spectators which we conceptualize as excitement.

Psychological aspects of the excitement syndrome have been studied explicitly, as far as one can see, only in areas nearest to the physiological level, that is, in very small children. There is some evidence that a generalised excitement reaction is one of the earliest to occur in infants (Bridges, 1931). Studies of excitement in infancy suggest that body-rocking and other rhythmical movements are among the earliest manifestations of an excitement syndrome. They can have a soothing effect and can be connected with pleasurable sensations. It is probably not too far-fetched to assume that one type of enjoyable leisure activity, the play-excitement through rhythmically repetitive movements in some forms of dancing is derived from the very elementary excitement which one can observe in infants.

For the rest, psychologists as such have contributed very little to the understanding of these problems. Systematic experimental studies of the developmental changes connected with the learning of restraint and self-control as well as studies of the counter-moves towards a loosening of controls, and all the questions of the fluctuating tension-equilibria connected with moves towards greater control and the corresponding countermoves, are still an open field. In that respect we have had to rely on our own resources.

One can say more or less the same with regard to sociological studies of leisure events. The structure of these social events and particularly the properties which find resonance in the satisfying play-enjoyment of actors and spectators, often rising to a climax, are mostly unexplored. We have already referred to the attempt we have made to clarify this type of structure with reference to football.

7. It may help towards a better understanding of the difficulties which one encounters in dealing with problems which do not fit into the boundaries of one or another of the present academic specialisms, if one looks at the way in which much the same problems have been

approached at a stage where this division of labour, this splitting-up of the quest for knowledge into different specialisms, had not yet occurred. At an earlier stage, such problems were considered within the all-embracing matrix of philosophy. One of the best examples of this pre-specialisation approach to the very same problem can be found in Aristotle's Politics, Book VII and VIII.

Only fragments of Aristotle's theory of leisure survive in his Poetics, but they are often illuminating enough. His theory centres on the effect on man of music and of tragedy. Today one might hesitate to explain the effects of leisure events such as these which rank very high in our value-scale, in terms modelled on the effects of a purgative. Aristotle, for whom they ranked hardly less high, had no hesitation in doing so. One of the main differences between the contemporary scientific approach to human problems and that of Aristotle and of many other philosophers of antiquity was this: many contemporary human scientists appear to be looking over their shoulders at the haunting paradigms of the non-human sciences, above all those of physics. Perhaps the most reliable fund of empirical knowledge to which many of the great thinkers of antiquity looked as a model was medicine. It is not surprising, therefore, that Aristotle, in assessing the effects on man of music and drama, took his cue from the factual observations of physicians. His theory of the effects of music and drama had as a centre-piece the concept of "catharsis." It was derived from a medical concept used in connection with throwing out harmful substances from the body, in connection with cleansing the body through a purgative. In a figurative sense, Aristotle suggested, music and tragedy do something similar to men. They also have a curative effect which they bring about, not through a movement of the bowels, but through a "movement of the soul" (*kinesis tes psyches*). If people are over-excited or tense ~~exciting~~ music will help to calm them. If they are numb with despair and despondency they can find relief in the stirring-up of their feelings through mournful tunes. The essence of the curative effect of these mimetic events is that the excitement which they produce, in contrast to the excitement in seriously critical situations, is pleasurable. Aristotle explicitly used the term PHARMAKON in this context. He could still see what has perhaps been suppressed or mostly forgotten in the tradition of European thinking, in spite of the absorption of Aristotelian thinking into the traditions of the Christian church: that pleasure in the comparatively temperate form provided by mimetic events can have a curative effect on men. Without the hedonic element of "enthusiasm", of the excitement produced by music and by drama, no catharsis is possible.

It would be well worthwhile to consider other aspects of the Aristotelian theory of the effects of leisure events on man. What

has been said here may be enough to show that, at that stage, one could still see very clearly a problem which is much more difficult to see at a stage of development where the study of man is sharply divided among a number of different specialisms whose relationship with each other is uncertain and lacks any redeeming scheme of integration.

8. Aristotle propounded his thesis that pleasure is a necessary ingredient of the curative, the cathartic effect of leisure occupations without any particular stress on that fact.

Even in the European tradition, the Aristotelian thesis has from time to time in past centuries helped those who fought the tendency to diminish or suppress pleasure giving activities as such, to fight their battles. An example is to be found in Milton. When his Puritan friends aimed at suppressing not only light theatrical entertainment but even the performance of tragedies, he wrote this:

Tragedy, as it was antiently compos'd, hath ever been held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other Poems; therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising pity and fear, to purge the mind of these and such like passions, that is to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirr'd up by reading or seeing these passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion; for so in Physic things of melancholic hue and quality are used against melancholy, sower against sower, salt to remove humours.

The cathartic effect of strong passions aroused in play and as such diffused with delight, however undelightful and terrible the same passions are in real life, the Aristotelian problem and the Aristotelian thesis were still known to the learned in Milton's time. Their concordance with homoeopathic medicine still made them sound familiar and convincing. In the light of the much more developed research techniques of our time and the very much greater fund of knowledge available today, Aristotle's theory must appear simple and unsophisticated, but it brings to mind aspects of the problem of leisure which today are often forgotten. One of them is the fact that most leisure events arouse emotions which are related to those which men experience in other spheres, they arouse fear and compassion, or jealousy and hatred in sympathy with others, but in a manner which is not seriously perturbing and dangerous as they often are in real life; in the mimetic sphere they are transposed into a different key. They lose their sting. They are blended with delight.

The term "mimetic" refers to this aspect of a specific type of leisure events and experiences. Its most literal meaning is "imitation", but already in antiquity it was used in a wider, more figurative sense. It referred to all kinds of artistic forms in their relation to "reality", whether they were representational in character or not.

However, the mimetic aspect which is the common characteristic of all leisure events, high or low according to current evaluations, classified under that name, from tragedies and symphonies to poker and roulette, is not that they are representations of "real-life" events, but rather that the emotions, the effects aroused by them are related to those experienced in "real life" situations, only transposed in a different key and blended with a "kind of delight." Socially and personally, they have a different function and a different effect on men. Comparison between the excitement generated in "real-life" situations and that aroused by leisure events shows clearly enough similarities as well as differences. Although physiological research on these lines has hardly got under way, there is some reason to think that the basic physiological aspects of an excitement syndrome are the same in both cases. It would be interesting and rewarding to find out what the specific differences are. Psychological and socially, the difference is easier to recognize. In serious, non-mimetic excitement, as we have already said, men are liable to lose control over themselves and to become a threat, both to themselves and to others. Mimetic excitement is socially and personally without danger and can have a cathartic effect. But the latter can transform itself into the former. Examples are excited football crowds or "pop-fans" who get out of hand.

The term "mimetic" thus is used here in order to express the fact that the effects aroused by the whole range of events which belong to the sphere of that name, bear in a playful and pleasurable fashion a resemblance to effects experienced in seriously critical situations, even if the mimetic events themselves in no way resemble "real" events. However, neither the pattern nor the character of play events is the same in all societies. The strength and pattern of emotional needs differ according to the stage a society has reached in a civilising process. The mimetic events which serve these needs differ accordingly.

9. It is not only the matter-of-fact way in which men of former ages treated enjoyment and delight as essential ingredients in the emotional resonance of leisure events which makes the return to their reflections rewarding, but also their clear understanding of the apparent paradox which the emotional resonance of leisure events presents. Aristotle mentioned the fear-arousing qualities of tragedies

and the suffering in sympathy, the compassion to which they give rise. St. Augustine in his Confessions Book 3 reproaching himself for having frequented theatres and other places of entertainment, asked himself the very incisive question why it should be that we regard as entertainment performances which arouse fear, anxiety, rage, anger, and a good many other feelings which, if we could, we would avoid in real life like the plague. In the light of reflections of past ages, some of those of our own time on the very same problems make odd reading. It is not rare to find in our days such explanations of leisure events as "recuperation from work", "relaxations from the fatigue of daily life" and above all, "release from tension." Here are two examples. M.H. & E.S. Neumeyer, for instance, argued that leisure events are

...activities which recreate body and mind, resulting in recreation of one's exhausted powers through relaxation from the more serious pursuits of life. When a person is tired of physical and mental labour and still does not want to sleep, he welcomes active recreation (1931).

And G. T. W. Patrick claimed that,

...all plays are pastimes, but not all pastimes are play. Some of these seem merely to satisfy a longing for excitement. Why is it since our whole modern life is so exciting compared with former ways of living, that in our leisure time we seek exciting pastimes? ... Fortunately, the psychologists have worked out the problem for us and we now understand fairly well the psychology of play. We have learned that it is not excitement that we seek in play, but release from those forms of mental activities which are fatigued in our daily life of grind (1921).

Not only the observations of the ancients, but also almost all observations in our own time point to the fact that what people seek in their mimetic leisure activities is not release from tension but, on the contrary, a specific type of tension, a form of excitement often connected, as Augustine clearly saw with fear, sadness and other emotions we would try to avoid in ordinary life. One could give a very wide range of examples in order to show that the arousal of tensions is an essential ingredient of all types of leisure enjoyment in the mimetic sphere, but it may be enough for present purposes to give three examples from different types of mimetic events. Here is a concentrated representation by a poet of a pattern of crowd behavior during a performance by the Beatles:

The Beatles at Shea Stadium

Preliminary sounds
lick the sixty
thousand into one
body
ululating
on the rim
of knowledge

Jangled nerves await
exploratory chords
the plunge is immediate
protracted climax.

Bacchic girls drop,
thrashing frenzy,
or faint, arms flopping,
Scratched faces
grimace to believe,
flat against a fence
clawing, heave,
arched bodies lean,
arms, pleading, reach,
to cross the void bottom (Kerr, 1966).

This poem describes very well one particular pattern which repeats itself in a good number of mimetic events: the gradual working up of a tension-excitement reaching, as the poet says, a protracted climax, in the case of the pop audience of near frenzy, which then slowly resolves itself. One can find a similar pattern in many plays, a gradual rising of tensions leading, through a climax to a form of tension-resolution. Take as an example, the summing up of play and audience reaction in the following theatre review.

It was not a very comfortable evening that they gave us . . . But for those who were prepared to take it, it was magnificently rewarding. The battle-field, of course, was married life, and the first requirement for a production worthy of the author was two players capable of giving compelling, larger than life performances as Edgar the husband and Alice the wife, who during the play fight out the last and climatic scenes of the war they have been engaged in during twenty five years of marriage. One could have guessed with complete confidence that Edgar, commander of a small detachment of troops on an island, where hatred and frustration have every opportunity to foster and to turn into violence, would be

a part that would give Sir Laurence Olivier a chance to pull out all the stops and give a crashing performance.

One could not have anticipated quite so certainly that Miss Geraldine McEwan would be able to generate enough force to carry her plausibly to the inevitable Strindberg victory of woman's guile over Man's power. She did though. The result was as gripping a diet of passionate acting as anybody can have seen for a long time. Its effect was in no way lessened or spoiled by occasional outbreaks of nervous laughter in the audience. It was obvious that the laughs did so not in mockery, but because they needed some relief from tensed up feelings (Darlington, 1967).

The release from tension mentioned in this review is much more specific and has a much more testable character than the rather vague and ill-defined concept of release often used as a hypothetical explanation for leisure-time activities. The tension mentioned here is that which has been worked up by the leisure-time event itself. The laughter mentioned has the function of a safety valve. It prevents the mimetic tension from becoming too strong. In the usual social setting of a theatre an audience cannot let itself go to the same extent as the pop audience at Shea Stadium. Outwardly, a theatre audience is normally more restrained. The movements, which form an integral part of a spontaneous excitement syndrome, are kept under firmer control. The excitement is confined more rigidly to what we usually call the feeling level. There are evidently considerable differences between different age-groups and different classes in the openness with which they show their tension and excitement through bodily movements. There are differences in the whole social setting of different mimetic events. All this offers great scope for sociological enquiry. But this above all is evident: that it is not enough to rely for an explanation of problems such as these on hypotheses in terms of "release from tension" or "recuperation from work", which might be more appropriate if most people spent their spare time in activities characteristic of the sphere of rest, if they just pottered around, relaxed, or had a rest.

10. We came across this problem first in connection with the study of football. At a later stage, one will have to consider the differences among types of mimetic events which we rank as higher and lower in the hierarchic order attributed to them. But in order to arrive at a stage of enquiry where that may be possible, it is first

necessary to determine with greater precision the characteristics which mimetic events of all kinds have in common. One can perhaps see the problem better if one adds an example from the field of sport to those which have already been given. People may speak of the pleasurable excitement for which they look in all these pastimes in different terms. Young people may say after a performance by the Beatles, that they "got a kick" out of it. Older and more sedate people may say after a play they liked, "I was greatly moved." Football fans may tell you that they were "thrilled." But although there are differences which have to be explored, a strong element of pleasurable excitement and, as a necessary ingredient of the pleasure, a degree of anxiety and fear, is always present whether it is the tension-excitement derived from going to the races, especially when one has a little flutter on the side, or the much quieter but more profound excitement one may derive from listening to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony when the choir, singing Schiller's "An die Freude," works up to its tremendous climax.

There are greater variations in the way in which the pleasurable excitement, the enjoyable stirring of the emotions provided by leisure activities can express itself, and until we have studied in greater detail the connections between the structure of the leisure and that of the emotional resonance they find in actors or spectators, it would be premature to put forward even tentative explanations for these varieties of enjoyment.

The study of football, we found, with all its limitations, lends itself rather well, and perhaps better than many others, to a clarification of at least some of the basic problems which one encounters in the mimetic field. Here one can study very closely the rather complex correspondence between the dynamics of the mimetic event itself and the psychological dynamics of the spectators.

Take the following extract from one of our case studies:

The home team had rather unexpectedly scored the first goal. The tightly-packed crowd, overwhelmingly supporters of the home team, was jubilant. They waved their banners and rattles excitedly and sang, loud and triumphantly, in support of their favourites. The much smaller group of supporters who had travelled with the guest team, noisy and excited, too, at the beginning, was stunned into silence.

The guest team, regarded in the country at large as the better team, did not counterattack immediately. They concentrated on tight marking of the home team's attack,

bringing their inside-forwards and, at times, even their wingers back to play defensive roles. First a few, then more and more of the guest supporters started to chant in unison, "attack! attack! ... attack! attack! attack!" But the players evidently had their plan and were biding their time. The counter-chorus of the home supporters took up the challenge. They sang, "God save our gracious team," mocking the rival team and prodding their own.

For a time, the game swayed indecisively to and fro. Its tonus was low. Tension among the spectators flagged accordingly. People shrugged their shoulders. They became restless. They talked about last week's game. Suddenly, attention returned. The ball was hit by the guest team right-half far down the wing, it was taken up like lightening by an unmarked colleague. He centred quickly before the home team could reach him. The centre forward had an open goal before him. Leaving the goalkeeper no chance, he hit the ball hard and accurately into the net. Few had expected it. Shouts of surprised delight went up from the guest supporters, mingled with angry outbursts on the other side. There was a short battle of words on the terraces, with cat-calls and waving of banners. Three excited little boys ran on to congratulate their heroes and were chased off by the police. One could hear some of the home supporters swearing from the corners of their mouths. Others, clapping their hands to their heads in despair, cursed audibly: One-all; and only twenty minutes left!

If one looked at the faces of the home team players when they took up their positions again, one could see that they were angry and determined. Play became fast and furious. The guest centre-forward, once again storming through, was hacked down in the penalty area just as he seemed certain to score. The referee's whistle blew. The right half stood there, the fate of the game at his feet. A hush came over the crowd. He missed, the ball hit a post and was quickly scrambled away by the home team. There were sighs of relief and loud jeers from its supporters. Then came a lengthy melee in front of the home team's goal, they broke it and got the ball away with a clever combination of passing and dribbling. Now they had the initiative. Heads and bodies in the crowd moved to and fro with the ball. Roars went up here and there, becoming louder and louder with the growing tenseness of the game.

The ball changed possession, moving fast from one end of the field to the other. The tension mounted, it became almost unbearable. People forgot where they were standing. They were pushed, and pushing back, were again jostled back and forth, up and down the terraces. There was a tussle to the left of the guest team's goal, a quick centre, a header. Suddenly the ball was in the net, and the joy, the delight of the home supporters went up in a thundering roar that one could hear over half the town, a signal to everyone, "We've won!"

It may not be easy to find a clear consensus with regard to the characteristics of plays or symphonies which provide a high and a low degree of audience satisfaction, although even in the case of concerts, in spite of the greater complexity of the problems, the difficulties may not be insuperable. With regard to sport-games such as football, the task is simpler. If one follows the game regularly one can learn to see, at least in broad outline, what kind of game configuration provides the optimum enjoyment: it is a prolonged battle on the football field between teams which are well-matched in skill and strength. It is a game which a large crowd of spectators follows with mounting excitement produced not only by the battle itself, but also by the skill displayed by the players. It is a game which sways to and fro, in which the teams are so evenly matched that first one, then the other scores and the determination of each team to score the decisive goal grows as time runs out. The tension of the play communicates itself visibly to the spectators. Their tension, their mounting excitement in turn communicates itself back to the players and so on until the tension reaches a point where it can just be borne and contained without getting out of hand. If, in this manner the excitement approaches a climax, and if then, suddenly, one's own team scores the decisive goal so that the excitement resolves itself in the happiness of triumph and jubilation, that is a great game which one will remember and about which one will talk for a long time -- a really enjoyable game.

There are many shades and degrees of enjoyment and fulfillment which the 'cognoscenti' can find in such a leisure-time activity. Not all, by any means, provide optimum fulfillment. A very exciting game may be lost by one's own side. In that case people as a rule will still carry home the after-taste of their pleasurable excitement, but this enjoyment will not be quite as unmixed as it is in the first case. Or a very good game might end in a draw. At this point, one already begins to enter an area of controversy. The consensus -- very high in the cases we have mentioned -- is likely to diminish until one reaches the other end of the scale, where one finds again a high degree of consensus. In football, as in all other mimetic events, there are

undoubted flops. For an enquiry into leisure-time satisfactions, it is no less relevant to study the distinguishing characteristics of flops than it is to study those which provide optimum fulfillment. Unsatisfactory games are for instance those where one side is so superior to the other that the tension is lacking, you know beforehand more or less who is going to win. There is hardly any surprise in the air, and without surprise no excitement. People do not get much pleasure out of such a game. One could give other examples, but the essentials have been said.

It would not be difficult, as one can see, to map the mimetic events of a particular type along a scale. One of its poles can be represented by leisure events which provide optimum enjoyment, the other by those which, with a high degree of consensus, are considered a flop. The majority of events, evidently, would lie between the two poles, but a good deal of information can be gained from an analysis of the two extremes. It could serve, and it has in fact served us to some extent, as a pilot study for the preparation of surveys on a larger scale. Enquiries into the structure of events providing maximum and minimum satisfaction by itself contributed a great deal to the understanding of the correspondence between the social dynamics of a particular type of leisure event, such as football, and the personal dynamics leading to greater or lesser enjoyment on the part of individual participants. Although we are apt to classify the latter as psychological and the former as sociological, they are in fact wholly inseparable: for the greater or lesser enjoyment of those who participate in a particular type of leisure event, as actors or spectators, is the "raison d'être" for the existence of these events. It provides the criterion for the distinguishing structure of leisure events which are successful and those which are a flop. Again, one can well imagine the development of leisure events which on their part, open and educate their public to greater perceptiveness and enrichment. Academic divisions thus need not prevent the recognition of the intimate relationships between what may otherwise be separated in the form of physiological, psychological and sociological problems.

It would not be too difficult to design types of enquiries with regard to football and other sports which would make it possible to attack the same problem from the individual and the social levels at the same time, provided one is ready to use a unified theoretical framework. What has been said points in that direction. It would be quite possible, for instance, at least at the physiological level, by measuring changes in the pulse rate, heartbeat, and breathing of spectators during a football game, to determine the most elementary aspects of the rising and falling waves of excitement among them. It would be equally possible, particularly if one were to use films, to determine the rising and falling waves in the tension-balance of a

game. One could try to find out whether and in what way the physiological aspects of spectator enjoyment and excitement differ in the presence of games at the optimum from those at the opposite end of the scale. Nor would it be difficult to design survey enquiries in order to enlarge our understanding of these correspondences between the social dynamics of games and the individual and crowd dynamics of spectators.

These examples indicate one of the ways in which empirical enquiries in the relatively controllable field of sport could serve as models for enquiries into other mimetic leisure activities from dog-racing to tragedy, from pushpin to poetry. By and large, we are still at a stage where ideas as to what people should do with their leisure time are apt to take precedence over studies of what they do. Hence, the former are not always based on a firm knowledge of the nature and the structure of leisure-time activities as they actually are.

11. Nor can one say that we have a reasonably adequate knowledge about the needs they serve. We have tried to indicate what appears to us as the central problem with regard to these needs, and have made a preliminary proposal showing the direction in which one might look for an answer. Even if the latter is found insufficient, it seems useful to see the problem itself in clearer perspective. We have assembled a number of examples from different types of mimetic events indicating as a common characteristic, not release from tension, but rather the production of tensions of a particular type, the rise of an enjoyable tension-excitement, as a heart piece of leisure enjoyment. A recurrent need for the stirring up of strong, enjoyable emotions which rises, and if it finds satisfaction abates only to rise again after a time, makes itself felt in our society as in many others. Whatever the relation of this need to other, more elementary needs such as hunger, thirst, and sex may be -- all the evidence points to the fact that it represents a much more complex, much less purely biological phenomenon -- one may well find that the neglect to pay attention to this need is one of the main gaps in present approaches to problems of mental health.

The problem is to some extent obscured by the negative undertones with which the concept of tension is used both in sociological and in psychological discourse. We have already pointed out that a game of football itself constitutes a form of group dynamics with a built-in tension (Elias and Dunning, 1966). If this tension, if the "tonus" of the game becomes too low, its value as a leisure event declines. The game will be dull and boring. If the tension becomes too great, it can provide a lot of excitement for the spectators, but it will also entail grave dangers for players and spectators alike. It passes from

the mimetic to the non-mimetic sphere of serious crisis. Already in this context one had to discard the negative undertones of the conventional concept of tension and to replace it by another which allows for a normal optimum tension which can, in the course of the configurational dynamics, become too high or too low.

This more dynamic concept of tension applies not only to the game of football as such, but also to the participants. Individual people too, can live with a built-in tension which is higher than normal or lower than normal, but they are only without tension when they die. In societies such as ours which require an all-round emotional discipline and circumspection, the scope for strong pleasurable feelings openly expressed is severely hedged in. For many people it is not only in their occupational but also in their private lives that one day is the same as another. For many of them, nothing new, nothing stirring ever happens. Their tension, their tonus, their vitality, or whatever one might call it is thus lowered. In a simple or a complex form, on a low or a high level, leisure time activities provide, for a short while, the upsurge of strong pleasurable feelings which is often lacking in ordinary routines of life. Their function is not simply as is often believed, a liberation from tensions, but the restoration of that measure of tension which is an essential ingredient of mental health. The essential character of their cathartic effect is the restoration of a normal mental "tonus" through a temporary and transient upsurge of pleasurable excitement.

The effect cannot be wholly understood unless one is aware of the very great risk which people take if they allow themselves to become excited. It is the antithesis to self-control, to rational or reasonable conduct. Those responsible for law and order, as one can discover if one studies the development of football, have again and again fought bitterly against the upsurge of excitement in people and particularly of communal excitement, as a grave social disturbance. The pleasurable excitement people experience in relation to mimetic events thus represents a social enclave where excitement can be enjoyed without its socially and personally dangerous implications. That it is often enjoyed in the company of others enhances the enjoyment. It means that in this form and within certain limits an otherwise dangerous upsurge of strong feelings can be enjoyed with the approval of one's fellows. The peculiar ambiguity surrounding leisure-time excitement can be seen clearly enough in our time when people are opening up for themselves new horizons of leisure excitement which are still experimental. Without clear understanding of the function of mimetic excitement in leisure time activities it will be difficult to assess factually their personal and social implications.

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III. Sport and Games in Primitive Culture and Societies

The So-Called Sport Activities of Primitive People

A Contribution Towards the Genesis of Sport

by

Hans Damm

An investigation concerning this topic may seem presumptuous to the ethnologist since he knows as nobody else, that the present material is incomplete and quite inconsistent in its global distribution. Besides, observations made by many investigators were sketchy due to their often rather short stay. There are, however, quite a number of elaborate investigations by competent people which have been done increasingly in the last decades. There are also comprehensive, ethnological works which deal with the problem of exotic games from different aspects. (Despite that, one should not forget that with the growing civilization of the non-European cultures, everything of the old native cultural goods has changed considerably. This change effects even more the game-like and sportive activities of the exotic people.) Because of all of this, the present investigation can, in its inferences have in many aspects only a hypothetical character. But it is done anyway, only because it cannot too often be stated to the ever growing number of younger ethnologist, going into fieldwork, to look more carefully than field investigators have in the past at the mistreated games just before they cease to exist. The basic insights that have been gathered in this area of ethnological investigation in the last years can only have an encouraging effect (Jensen, 1947; Hye-Kerkdal, 1956).

This investigation shall deal with physical activities in the broadest meaning of the concept since the primitive has neither a term for sport in his language, nor is he engaged in sport as we understand it (Groos, 1899). For instance, some specific tribes in New Guinea called all games, including physical competitions, merely playful activity. And the remark of the Tibetan Rin-chen Lha-Mo -- "we have no organized sports -- such as you have in such plenty", despite the fact that he names a number of sportive games (1926), means that

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the transformation from play to sport in our meaning of the concept, had not been confirmed even among such a great people as the Tibetans. Certainly all people engage in playful activities since the play drive is naturally found in all men. When Paulitschke (1893) states that the Bedouins do not know games one can assume incomplete observation. Regardless of that, however, this playful activity is not so strongly molded among those primitive cultures, such as wild hunters, to which the Bambuti Pygmies of the Central African jungle, and Negritos on the Philippines and on the half island of Malacca belong, as among those further developed people such as hunters, farmers and shepherds. Since these pre-cultural wild hunters suffered from particularly hard conditions, and because other areas of their culture had many primitive characteristics, the level of economic development could be considered as an important factor for the evolution of sportive games. On the other hand, the fact is also of importance that inhabitants of Australia and the Bushmen of South Africa, who lived under similar economic conditions but were further developed in their societal structure, in their Weltanschauung and in creative arts, did have physical activities of their own. Because of that, the primitive economic stage of gathering and hunting, can hardly explain the ignorance among those pre-cultural wild hunters. Of course, it can not be denied that the extreme hardship of the life struggle might dampen the amount of physical activities, as claimed by the American Batchelor, the top expert on the Ainu living on the Sachalins and Yesso (1892). The non-existence of physical activities can also not at all be explained because of an inferiority in physical or psychic constitution. With increasing investigation of the life habits of these people, we see more and more that these wild hunters day by day show an optimum of mental activity both in the development of their hunting methods and in the way they make poisonous vegetables edible, and on the other hand, they also show the ability for considerable physical achievements. Brough Smith, whom we have to thank for standard works about the Australians, reports for instance, that everyday one of his accompanying natives ran from his camp in the Darling Range, five miles towards the station and back, only to pick up a bottle of milk for the European (1878). The Dutch Bijlmer, also reports that the Damia in the interior of New Guinea were able to travel within two and a half days twice the distance in the mountain lands for which the whites needed four days (1939).

Because of this, the evolution and development of physical activities must be explained through factors other than just economic ones. Bernatzik explains the ignorance of sportive games among the Phi (Ka) Laung in the northwestern border area of IndoChina and Siam as being due to the "missing need for top achievement" and thus focuses on their psychological inheritance (1938). Without any doubt this is a critical factor and it may determine considerably the character of individual

specificities of a people. The careful collection of material by Kauffmann among the Thadou Kuku in Assam shows clearly that this people had a specific preference for the high and the broad jump, but seldom engaged in competitive races, except possibly as children (1941). This is not an isolated incidence. In an earlier work, I showed that the dark skinned Melanesians in the Southern Pacific had little preference for sportive games, whereas their light skinned eastern neighbors, the Polynesians always had a high regard for sport in its different forms (Damm, 1922). A similar observation had been made by Friedrich Rudolf Lehmann in Southwest Africa; among the Herero youth he observed a striking disregard of movement games, while this was not true for the Tswana (1952).

This difference in psychological conditioning is also to be observed within a people among different age groups and sexes and within the groups, among single individuals as well. The missionary Reiber, living many years with the natives at the north coast of New Guinea and being interested in particular in their games, observed, for instance, that the carefree youth knew many games, among them physical activities, "as a natural reaction of the body longing for movement", while the adults would at times engage in them as well, without developing, however, a persistent internal enthusiasm (1911). Similarly, it was observed quite generally among the already mentioned Thadou Kuku and also among the Dajak of Borneo that, for instance, as soon as the men had passed the middle twenties, they would no longer engage in competitive races (Kauffmann, 1941; Nieuwenhuis, 1907). Since the life of these people is, however, based on a secure agricultural economy, one cannot claim hardship in the struggle for survival as seen among the earlier mentioned most primitive people. Thus, the different attitude of the adults towards sportive physical activities must have a different cause than a purely economic one. Because of that, it is not without interest that Paul Wirz, who increased our knowledge about the ethnographic situations in New Guinea and South Asia considerably during his numerous travels there, determined that among the Marind-anim in the South of New Guinea, the seclusion of boys in the houses of men with which the extensive initiation rights were started, caused a temporarily observable limit of the play period (1922). From this time on, the youth grows into a completely different kind of world, which does not only have strong spiritual significance, but also determines every thought and task in their future lives; it is a world of secret associations with their mask dances. I think that we can at least observe in this great psychological event one of the reasons for the missing interest among the adult men of economically developed peoples in regard to sportive games. Since also, in part of middle Africa, the secret associations command the thoughts and emotions of men as strongly as in Melanesia, the remark of Thorbecke about the game poverty of the Cameroon tribes, which he derived from the

missing play enthusiasm to be found also in our own youth, deserves consideration. We do not concur, however, with the generalization that he expressed in this connection that passivity in games was a character trait of the Negro (1914).

The importance of the psychological foundation for the evolution and development of sportive games can be derived also from the participation of the women in games. Their physical burden because of the household work in the broadest sense, including the care for children, leaves generally less time for play than among men. If they, however, have a chance for activity at feasts then their psychological tensions dissolve more in rhythmic dance than in sportive competition.

At times, the geographic environment of a people is also essential for the development of and the engagement in sportive games. A typical example are the Purari-Delta of South New Guinea. The Namau who live there had very few games because their villages stood on the swampy shores of the river and because their houses could be reached only over simple foot bridges constructed of raw logs. The limitations of the area had to hinder the development of physical activities which, for the most part, can be engaged in only in open areas (Holmes, 1924).

Thus, on the one hand, among people of the most simple life style, we can observe a considerable poverty in sportive games. On the contrary, however, sportive games can be found among all those who live as farmers in larger communities, or, in case they have to live as nomads because of hunting or breeding of cattle, do gather at times in larger assemblies. The larger the community, the more the competitive drive of single individuals had to express itself in a display of strength. If because of certain festival events, the joy of life was boosted more than in everyday life then for the engagement in sport competition there was a particularly fruitful basis at hand (Rasmussen, 1926).

Or was it only joy in life which then expressed itself in competition? The staging of specific physical activities in relation to cultic activities has been so striking that ethnologists could no longer disregard them. In the course of the last decade, this particular appearance has received so much interest that an additional and not less important line of development toward sportive play could be located.

For instance, the so-called primitive people know different types of dragging and shoving. Tug of war and stick dragging was already very popular before the entrance of Europeans. The youth

of the Northwest American Indians at Puget-Sound enjoyed it, while the young men often engaged in it as a real sport and placed bets. This was known among the Indians in the Northeast of Peru, (Tessmann, 1930) among the tribes of West Africa (Tessmann, 1912); it was known as well among the Northwest provinces of India (Haddon, 1898) and on the islands of the Indo-oceanic world (Damm, 1922). However, among the latter, this game often shows interesting peculiarities which have supposedly other than purely sportive functions. Tribes in Melanesia of the Papua-Gulf organized it during the so-called tabu feast, which was related to the construction of a ceremonial platform (Dubu). The one party was always composed of men, the other one of women. An explanation for this could not be obtained (Seligman, 1910). This separation of the fighting parties according to sex is quite peculiar since the result of such a fight cannot be in doubt because of the uneven distribution of strength. This peculiar organization of the competitors also occurs among the culturally related tribes on the Trobriand Islands, located to the east. Bronislaw Malinowski, the best expert on this area, mentions particularly that the winners did not only sneer at the losers, but also while howling, rushed onto the opponents laying on the ground and did publicly engage in coitus. I was able to show in an earlier work that this particular kind of tug-of-war is also to be found on the East Indonesian Islands at agricultural feasts, and is definitely regarded as the mimic creation of the sexual act through which the fertility of the earth shall be promoted. It was not the dragging which was important but the going back and forth of the torso by which the coitus movement was demonstrated. Because of that, the sexes had to stand opposite one another. This peculiar fertility rite has been brought there through ethnic groups in the above mentioned Melanesian areas. All signs, however, indicate that the connection of the tug-of-war with a symbolic performance of coitus is secondary, which means that the latter was only later connected with the supposed game. In Indonesia for instance, very often coitus is performed between the sexes on the field in order to increase the production of the crops (Wira, 1929, 1934). On the other hand, the plain toss dragging as rain magic is widely known in South Asia and Indonesia. In the dry zone of Upper Burma, at the beginning of the monsoon, the whole village population is engaged in this challenge of strength. The participants form a northern and southern group according to the position of their homes. If the southern party wins, then one knows that heavy rain will fall immediately (Maung Htin Aung, 1933).

In Upper Laos, even in most recent times, according to the observations of Henri Deydier (1954), tug-of-war, again separated according to the sexes, was performed as rain magic. If we consider that the inhabitants of the islands of the Malayan world came

from these areas, then it is no wonder that on East Indonesian islands the result of tug-of-war has the same fateful importance (Berkusky, 1913, Riedel, 1886). Coitus as a fertility rite and tug-of-war as rain magic originally to be found in different cultures, has, because of the mixture of both, resulted in such a peculiar form of tug-of-war, as in East Indonesia, and in particular on the Trobriand Islands. It was not a sportive game at all, but a magic rite which, diminishing in its former cultic meaning, may, however, develop into a sportive exercise of strength, its earlier meaning can then be presumed from the organization of competing parties according to sex. Such an inference, however, would only be allowed if this form of tug-of-war appeared in cultures which are related to the above ones. It would, however, be ill-conceived to interpret tug-of-war among the Southern Efe in the Congo area in the same way, only because here men also fight against women. Schebesta makes the specific claim that it is a sport which both sexes are fond of, and naturally both, every now and then would compete against one another (1941).

Another popular sporting game was the competitive race. This may be based on the fact that the drive for movement found in childhood transmits into early running and racing. In regard to this, there is no difference between colored and white children, both romp equally as hard. With increasing age, however, the play was assigned more severity. The boys of the Dakota Indians are a good example. If there were a group of them moving around, then it would easily occur that one would say, "Let's see who will reach that bush over there first. He who is last has to play with the girls." This feared humiliation did, of course, spur every boy to run as fast as he could (Dorsey, 1891). Also, the adolescents of the Ao-Naga in Assam, while on their way towards the fields in favor of improvising a competitive race with the girls, may only have considered this facetious competition, in order that the conquered daughters of Eve would have to bestow during the evening rice, beer, tobacco and betel on them (Smith, 1925). Among North American Indian tribes as among the Mandan the competitive race had almost Olympic character (Culin, 1907). Gatherings of the tribes were a good occasion for that. The chiefs would order the races and name older men as starter, for the determination of the results, and for the regulation of betting. Announcers would inform the spectators about all events of the game process. The winners were publicly announced, among the Sioux they were as highly regarded as successful hunters and brave warriors (Culin, 1907).

The supposedly European-like sequence of that sporting event should not delude us into believing that this is not an old Indian physical activity. In the state of Arizona, in Indian settlements left long

ago, old race tracks have been discovered (Culin, 1907). Whether the competitive foot-race among the Indians had existed since ancient times, the character of a sportive game, as the observers tell us, is questionable, however. Among the Hopi in Arizona, competitive races were a permanent part of particular cultic activities, for instance during the snake dance festival (Krickeberg, 1922; Culin, 1907). The runners carried in their hands symbols of blizzards and clouds; they were themselves the personified clouds of rain. Because of this, the race was always directed towards areas which were most in need of rain.

Among the Huitschol, an Indian tribe in the Pacific part of the Mexican high plateau, there was a competitive foot racing, where runners had to hunt a stag, seen as a symbolic object, in order to secure growth in nature. Out of the religious and mythological perceptive world of these men, Preuss infers that this competitive foot-race was the symbolization of an every morning event in the sky when the stars have to give way to the oncoming day (Preuss, 1912, 1930). The "heavenly hunter" was the morning star or the sun to which the stars of the night heaven, considered by the Indians as stags, fell in sacrifice. Because of that, the competitive foot-race of the Huitschol was always oriented eastwards towards the "land of light."

Among the Wichita in Oklahoma, as well as among the tribes of Puget Sound, the beings who appear as myths often compete in competitive foot-races. The Navajo in New Mexico even worships a god of this sport (Culin, 1907; Haeberlin and Günther, 1924). Not much different is the situation among the South American Indian tribes, whether these are the Andean high cultures, or the Wood Indians of the low lands. These sacred competitive foot-races were supposed to promote the fertility of particular plants, or result in an early rain. In any case, they were a fertility rite which at times was performed in a very vital form. In the shore area of Peru, a feast was organized on the occasion of the maturity of a particular fruit. Men and women gathered at a specific place between the orchards and all were naked. After a signal was given, they ran in competition towards a rather distant hill. Each man who caught a woman in the race immediately performed coitus with her (Hye-Kerkdal, 1956). Here we have the same behavior as among the Trobriand Islands.

As a study of Hye-Kerdal proves, the careful analysis of a game can lead to surprising results if there is well-collected observation material. Such a characteristic example is the so-called log race of the Timbira Indians. Each team had a wooden log of one meter in length and forty to fifty centimeters in diameter and equal in weight, which was brought out of the woods towards the village place on an earlier agreed upon way in a competitive foot-race. The rather heavy load was carried on the shoulders and alternately transferred among the men of the same team. The two teams that

engaged in the competitive foot-race were, however, not randomly selected but represented a dual organization reflecting a polar perception of the world (Jensen, 1950). Most peculiar in this competitive foot-race was the fact that the winner did not expect any trophy and that the losers were not sneered at. The feeling of having done one's best in this contest in regard to strength and endurance overshadowed the separation of winners and losers completely.

Observations that were done by the expert on Indians, Nimuendaju, and the reports of earlier investigations of this game give this physical activity the appearance of a real sportive game, the more since it took place at various times during the whole year and not just during a feast, yet it occurred particularly in connection with the so-called Vute ceremony. Since good runners were highly regarded and appeared desirable to the women, it is understandable that this game has been called by some observers a "matrimonial trial" (Nimuendaju, 1946). However, the above mentioned investigation of Hye-Kerkdal showed that this log race originally was part of death feasts and fertility rites. Similar competitive races made more difficult were known among the Ao Naga in Assam (lugging of a stone on the shoulders) and among the Hawaiian islanders (carrying of a man on the shoulders), about the meaning of which there is, however, no information (Smith, 1925, Culin, 1899).

One of the most impressive physical activities of exotic people seems to be the kick ball race of the tribes in the southwest of North America which in different forms was also found in California and New Mexico (Culin, 1907). This game was performed in a broad way between villages or districts. Each of the two teams had its captains who would declare the time of the contest, the path of the race track and would also organize their team. They also were considerate regarding the physical care of their team members, they washed the team members' feet in warm water enriched with particular herbs and massaged them before the race. Then the medicine man touched the runners with a magic stone in order to provide them with endurance and strength, and he provided them with other means against witchcraft. The two teams, who before the race had to live on a diet, were differentiated by their colorful head bands. They colored their legs with chalk color, adorned themselves with feathers of specific running birds and wore leather saddles as well as belts made from the skin of fast running animals. These all were magic means to provide the runners with the victory. In the preparation and in its whole performance, this competitive foot-race gives the impression of a real sportive game. The remark by Lumholtz, who saw such a race and made the dramatic report, that this competitive race was a natural need for the Indians as swimming is for the ducks, proves the validity

of such a consideration. Also the remark of the Pima Indians that they would not be able to run as fast without a ball, could be understood to mean that the ball is only a mechanical means used to help the runners keep up their endurance. Yet, there is also another possible interpretation of this Indian remark which comes closer to the mental attitude of these men. The merit goes to the American Studies expert, Preuss, who has acknowledged specific Indian ball games as cultic actions with which a magic effect should be accomplished (Preuss, 1930).

Among the Huichol, the ball was thrown over the round conical temple which symbolized the Cosmos, in an easterly, westerly, northerly and southern direction. Among the Aztecs, the arrangement of the ball court was in a north to southern direction. The players standing on the north and south side of the court had to hit the ball with the hip or thigh through two round discs with a hole. These discs were deposited on the east and west side of the court. After Preuss, North and South meant for the Aztecs the heaven and the underworld. The ball symbolized the stars which trail through these zones. Among the Uitoto in the Woodridge upper Arizona district, it could be definitely inferred from the myths that the rubber ball, which was hit with the knee, represented the full moon (Preuss, 1930). Culin also supposed that the competitive race of the Zuni had similar cultic meaning since it was primarily engaged in a broad range at the end of the planting season and was consecrated to the god of war. The five centimeter long wood roll, which was hit instead of a ball, was then thrown on the altar (Culin, 1907). In New Guinea, Jensen found the same symbolic of ball and moon mentioned in a myth.

As the competitive race as play was liked by so many exotic people, and as it seems to frequently have a ritual significance, it should also be noted, however, that it was completely alien to some people. Bernatzik observed this for the Miao Akha (1947), Kauffmann observed it similarly for the Thadou Kuki in Assam (1941). It is also apparent that among the wild hunters of South Asia, Australia, and Central Africa, this game is not mentioned, although well known investigators like Gusinde, Schebesta, Von Eickstedt, Bernatzik, et al. worked for quite a while among these people. Regardless of the small number of games, which is generally apparent for those men living in very primitive economic conditions, one would have expected such a physical training as a pre-condition for these hunting tribes since the methods of hunting they practiced demand an utmost amount of physical exertion. Speed and endurance are required for the so-called running hunt as it is applied among the Bushland of South Africa in the day-long pursuit of game (Passarge, 1907). Similar to these achievements are those of the Indians in Florida, and the Guaram in Northern South

America of whom the first caught deer, the latter, the running ostrich-like Nandu (Friederici, 1942). And among the Australian tribes of the Kurnai a man is remembered who, in the rainy period, once the soil was soaked, caught kangaroos with his hands while running. And these were not single events (Howitt, 1904, Brough Smith, 1878). Conditioning through competitive running games was, however, not done, thus it seems as if the development of a physical activity is not always interdependently related to the economical functions.

Conversely, the majority of the exercises with weapons were used for the preparation of hunting and war. This holds similarly for the use of the stone sling, the javelin, the throwing stick and the bow. For the inhabitants of the island of Tahiti and of the New Hebrides, the slinging of stones was actually a military exercise. Stones the size of an egg were thrown a distance of 200 meters with a peculiar expert marksmanship, using a sling constructed out of cocoa fiber. The first Europeans who visited the islands experienced the danger of this weapon (Ellis, 1831, Bunzendahl, 1935). Quite often this weapon, even if it is no longer used in case of war, still survives in play. The boys of the Ulu-Ajar-Dajak at the Manday River in Borneo played with very small long leaves, the ends of which they held with one hand and the projectile of which they put into the formed hole of the leaf, when throwing, the end of this substitute sling was released (Nieuwenhuis, 1907).

The Bola had a similar fate. This old weapon, for instance, is still in existence as a relic on the Gilbert Islands and on Nauru in the South Pacific. The natives threw a feather bow into the air by means of a shaft. This target, freely swinging back and forth, the players tried to catch with a bola to the long cocoa fiber of which a walnut size piece of coral or a pear-like sharpened piece of a *Tridacna* shell was attached. In the same manner in old times, the Frigate bird was hunted. It was only that instead of the great bird with its sharp curved beak, a harmless feather target had been substituted (Krämer, 1906).

Also the different javelin games have actually been imposed on the exotic people through the fight for survival. With the exception of the high throw (Watussi), the long throw and the throw towards a permanent and rolling target were distributed all over the earth as pure skill exercises. However, particularly in this latter throwing game, there is a specific form, "ring and pin" among the North American Indian tribes. Indeed this has the character of a sportive exercise, and gambling occurs. However, according to the investigations of Stewart Culin it was a cultic act (1907). According to the mythological and religious perception of the Indians, the line-

covered game-hoop is the symbol for the web of the mother earth, which is supposed to be a spider. Furthermore, it appears from the tale of the Zuni Indians that this goddess put such a hoop on each of her two sons, the twins Ahaiyuta and Matsailama in order to protect them. Among different Indian tribes such as the Chippewa and Cheyenne, the custom has survived. Culin inferred from all of this that the web hoop, the symbol of the spider web of the original mother, represents as para pro toto the latter, whereas the projectile symbolizes the male principal. Because of that, this game was to be interpreted as a ritual sexual act through which the fertility of the earth and of all creatures should be increased. It is intriguing that the Umatilla did honor this ringstick game in spring as soon as nature awakened to new life. Whereas, it occurred among the Wasco Indians as soon as the salmon in their drive for procreation traveled up the rivers in order to spawn. The Sioux performed it in order to lure great buffalo herds and to assure a rich hunt.

In this connection, one must point to a near classic sportive game. For this, a stick with a pointed or thickened head is used. Among the North American Indians it is called Snow Snake, among the Australian, Kangaroo Rat, among the Polynesians, Tika. These names characterize very well the movement of that sports tool which, being flung flat over the rough grounds, jumps and whisks like a fleeing animal. Although this exercise appeared to the Europeans as a complete sportive game, and although it developed in many places as such a game, its former religious meaning is obvious. It was observed by Hye-Kerkdal. This physical activity in Polynesia was part of an old death ritual. The winner in Tika was honored through the erection of a Menhir (1952, 1955b). It is acknowledged that Hye-Kerdal (1956) was able to identify the weapons of South American tribes mentioned in myths with these jumping sticks. For the North American Indians, Stewart Culin, the father of ethnological game research, has collected elaborate material about the game of the Snow Snake. He has guessed that it derived from mythology. The original form of this North American game was performed by the twin war gods, who in contest let their bows, arrows and clubs glide onto the ground (1907).

Furthermore, a much used weapon sport was bow and arrow shooting in preference to its pragmatic use during the hunt and war. It was used less often for distance than towards a particular target. But also here we find at times forms of games which have a different meaning beyond the profane. Because of this Ihle on the basis of old explorer reports came upon a striking statement that on Tahiti, the shooting with bow and arrow was supposedly the most sacred game

of all (1939), cf., Bunzendahl, 1935). It was a privilege for the male members of all chieftain clans. During great festivities, for which most important religious and national events were the cause, they engaged in this contest. Its solemn process in a rather old and austere ceremonial way, reminds one of the similar weapon sports of the Khasi in Annam and of the Japanese. While the population in festive ornamentation went to the fighting place, the shooters went toward Marae, the holy place of the god of the arrow shooters. Here they took their daily clothes off and engaged in a mutual washing. They received, from the guards of the Marae, sport tools and a festive gown which had been stored in a special building. After a call to the goddess, the competitive shooting started. Referees with flags signaled the distance for the shooting. He who had the most distant shot was the winner. The celebration consisted of making his name known in all districts, while the other shooters had to pay for the costs of the celebration and the feast. The contest finished with the same ceremony with which it had started. Despite a number of peculiarities during the progress of this contest, the formerly sacred character can not be proven. The magic religious attitude of these exotic people considers each important project as completed only after all cultic requirements have been fulfilled (call to the goddess et al.). Yet the project itself does not attain cultic religious character. However, it is noteworthy that the nobility of the Tahiti, as a rather newly immigrated ethnic element, still used a weapon in sportive play. This gave them formerly their military superiority over the old natives of the island. Although it was without importance at the time of the great explorers, this weapon was still claimed as an old privilege by the nobility.

The engagement in bow and arrow shooting, particularly among the boys as a real weapon game, is only natural. For them it was practice for the later use of weapons during hunting and war expeditions. A generalization of this interpretation is, however, not recommended because many children's games are survivals of very severe and often cultic acts. Georg Höltker, who has given the games of lines a very thorough investigation, mentions on the grounds of his own field investigations the well-founded supposition that in the areas of the north coast of New Guinea the bow and arrow shooting of the boys is originally bound to magic rites of fertility during a particular month (after which the game is as well named). The boys were shooting after rolling fruit, while singing a song (cf. Blaes, 1946-49).

From the point of view of cultural history of all dual contests, wrestling and boxing are definitely older than weapon games. This type of contest may have dominated in early times; it has survived sporadically among the Eskimo and Tschuktschen in order to settle

legal struggles (Rasmussen, 1926). Generally, however, these dual fights with physical means have developed into pure sport games in all continents, in which the joy from mutual challenge of strength is expressed. Even white researchers like Max Schmidt could not abstain (1905). Among the exotic people wrestling and boxing served supposedly from the beginning for the development of strength (Gusinde, 1931). But definitely the possibility was not ruled out of making use during the contest of magic means in order to weaken the opponent prematurely (Best, 1924). There are also hints that boxing and wrestling at particular times have been part of a cultic procedure. Nieuwenhuis reports that he found among the Bahau- and Kenja-Dajak particular games, among them wrestling, associated with the harvest and the New Year feast (1907). Among the Bayot, a Negro tribe in the Sudan, south of the lower Gambia, it was not any different, among them, during the planting of rice and its harvesting, special wrestlers would appear who were trimmed with Kauris and little bells and who even had to live in celibacy (Baumann, 1939). Among the Thadou-Kuki in Assam, wrestling was a pure and highly regarded sport of youth, which particularly during weddings, was engaged as a big contest between the male kin of the groom and the bride. Rewards were not distributed; it was only for joy and honor. And he who wins during seven weddings gets an honorary degree (Kauffmann, 1941). Whether the wrestling during the wedding ceremonies and particularly between the kin of both the spouses can be considered as a relic of a former bride robbery can hardly be determined. The frequent engagement in sportive dual contests during wedding festivals is, of course, quite apparent (cf. Damm, 1922).

We owe a particular classic demonstration of an Olympiad to James Cook. The Olympics make the different games appear as specific sport games, yet they formed together with the New Years feast and the vegetation feasts an undivided whole. During these feasts, called Makahiki, sportive games and dancing were the focal point of attention. They had been set up by Lono, the god of the field fruits, in order to keep the memory of his wife, whom he had killed in jealousy, alive. In memory of this mythic event, these games were celebrated by the inhabitants of the island of Hawaii (Handy, 1927).

A short consideration must finally be given to the often observed Sham fights which are mentioned quite often among the games. They are conducted with the most primitive means. Perhaps one throws at another with earth, wood, wood brands and fruit; or it may be that one fights severely with another by means of bows, javelins, swords and similar weapons to let the pretended fight then

dissolve very often into a dancing movement. Basic to these playful appearing fights are a number of different magic imaginations (Damm, 1922, Jensen, 1950). However, they are not related at all to war games, which are engaged in for the practice of war between a pair of fighters or larger parties.

This sketchy overview demonstrates quite clearly the difficulties which are encountered in answering the question of the origin of these sportive games, since very often field investigators will not separate between sport and cultic games. There is, however, no question that among the exotic people, both exist side by side.

The exotic people know and celebrate sportive physical activities in the best meaning of the word, while similar games during cultic events derive from magic motives. It may even be that they demonstrate far distant events in dramatic form in order to radiate godly energies toward the well-being of mankind. Yet it is possible, as it has often happened, that in the process of its longer development they will be transformed into games with playful character.

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Organization of Games and Adaptive Strategies of the Canadian Eskimo

by

R. Gerald Glassford

Introduction

The stability and universality of games in numerous cultures that have developed, matured and disintegrated during the course of history places them as a phenomenon, on a plane approximately equal to that of religion, politics and economics. Games are malleable, chameleon-like entities, at once the same and yet of a thousand forms. The qualities inherent in games which have led to their permanence have had roots either in the fundamental material of the behavioral organism or in the basic substance from which culture itself is created. In support of the latter contention, Strayer (1950, p. 6) states that "the tools men use or the food they eat may determine the chances for survival of a people, the games they play or the stories they read may establish the character of a nation."

For a long period of time, the study of games has been scarcely more than a careful attempt to catalogue and construct the history of games. Only recently has a shift been made toward an emphasis on the understanding of the nature of games, their characteristics, laws, instinctive bases, and the types of satisfactions they provide. This trend can be attributed to the work of a small number of men. Schiller (1902, p. 56), one of the first philosophers to give recognition to the importance of play in the history of culture, wrote that it might be possible to deduce the character of various cultures from an understanding of the games and playforms which predominate within it. This concept was taken up and expanded by Johan Huizinga in his Homo Ludens (1950). In this essay, the author sought to analyze the cultural limits of play and to demonstrate its importance in the development of civilization. Since Huizinga's original work, the belief that an interrelationship exists between culture and the game forms, or organizational patterns, of a culture group has been implicitly expressed in the writings of Mead (1937), Cozens and Stumpf (1947, 1949) and Caillors (1958). Further, the works of Roberts, et al. (1959), Sutton-Smith, et al. (1963) and Hill (1966) lend credence to the belief that the nature of games reflects, or is shaped by, the cultural environment in which they are found.

Such a concept is not unreasonable if a given culture is recognized to be a coherent whole, consisting of interrelated parts

(behavioral codes, environment, and population). Each part is related to the others in such a way that changes in one part tend to bring about changes in the others. The ramifications of such changes tend to force a new equilibrium or adjustment among the parts, thus ultimately changing the nature of the entire system. Considered within this context, it is not unreasonable to believe that games, which function within a culture in the sphere of behavioral codes, would undergo changes reflective of the changes in the culture.

It is the purpose of this essay to suggest a theoretical framework that may lend itself to an analysis of the interrelatedness of games and the adaptive strategies of a culture group. Toward this end, the first task will be to attempt to construct the analytical model, and the second will be to examine the adaptive strategies of the traditional Canadian Eskimos and the organization patterns of games as described in ethnographical reports. The term "traditional" Eskimo is used here to denote those groups of people whose ancestors have for centuries lived above the tree line of North America and who continue to pursue a style of life in which livelihood focuses upon hunting, fishing and trapping.

Game Organization and Economic Behavior

In recent years, Shimkin (1966, 1968) has formulated an interesting theory relative to the nature of adaptive strategies within human groups. The concept of such strategies expresses the hypothesis that effective behavior ". . . has been a major component in the survival of . . . man, and that such behavior integrates . . . individual and population survival requirements, control mechanisms, and choice pathways" (1968). Man's social institutions are of particular importance in reducing uncertainties, increasing precision of choices, and modifying his environment.

The processes of human survival and evaluation can be seen to fit the requirements of a game as defined in the work of Von Neumann and Morgenstern (1947). As fundamental requirements, such processes involve scales of preference, effort, and hazard or risk (i.e., the ability to examine the factors inherent in the situation, to consider them one in relation to the others, and to arrive at a solution based on the willingness of an individual or a group to accept risk). Considered within this frame of reference, survival patterns contain most of the fundamental aspects of games. The following operational definition of the term "game" appears to have some merit. A game is considered to be a non-obligatory activity, either mental or physical in nature, which takes place in situations of fixed boundaries of time and space. In addition, the following four characteristics are reckoned to be fundamental aspects of all games;

First, there must be a goal, for no game can exist without orientation to some ultimate position or outcome which is considered to be desirable. In the case of a game, it is not essential that such goals be fully and expressively specified. Second, players must be able to perceive their positions relative to the goal. In games which involve perfect information all players know the precise positions of others in relation to the specified goal. In games of imperfect information, or in games where goals are unspecified, such is not the case. Third, a player, or players, must know what kinds of actions can be legitimately taken in order to better his, or their, position relative to the goal or desired outcome. In games, such rules are conceived of as binding; in the activities of survival, such rules are extensively mutable. The perception of rules permits the development of strategies and tactics (i. e. linear, conditional, random, or forms of cheating). The fourth element of commonality is that of decision. Based on his acceptance of the goal, his perceived relationship to this goal, his recognition of strategical procedures or options available to him the player must decide what "risks" or hazards he is willing to undertake in an effort to gain this goal. Those aspects of a game which do not fit the processes of human survival are the non-obligatory nature of a game, and the fact that games are distinct from "ordinary" life both as to locality and duration.

Strategies

There are three general strategical alternatives available to a player (or a culture group) at any given point. These are: minimax strategies, maximin strategies, and mixed strategies. Only the former two types of strategies will be discussed in this essay.

Maximin Strategies. Within the maximin strategy, a player's optimal tactic is directed toward maximizing his security level rather than pursuing maximum gain. The strategy here is to maintain one's self in the area of tolerance although such a maneuver may prevent a shift into the area of the optimum (see Figure 1). In the tolerance area, one can safeguard whatever gains have been made. Foster's discussion of what he terms the "image of the limited good" provides valuable insights into culture groups who have developed social institutions for maintaining community maximin strategies (1967).

The foundation of Foster's theory on the "limited good" is found in the concept that all desired things in life exist in absolute quantities which are insufficient to fill the wants of every member of the group and hence it is believed that an individual or family can improve its position only at the expense of others. Thus being the case, competition was viewed as a threat to the group and sanctioned methods were created to promote sharing patterns.

Minimax Strategies. This strategy involves the use of tactics which are directed at placing the player (or culture group) in the region of optimal returns. Inherent in the selection of this choice are high efforts, the high, even ultimate, loss or gain. Players adopting this alternative are those who are willing to accept these high risks. Cultures which adopt this strategical approach are those which are commonly labelled achievement-oriented (c f., Luce and Raiffa, 1958)

In order to consider games in relation to adaptive strategies, a frame of reference relative to game organization is necessary. The work of Von Neumann and Morgenstern (1947) is again suggestive. They discuss both zero-sum games and non-zero-sum games in detail and these, in turn, can be closely related to competitive and co-operative games respectively. By combining the concepts of specified and unspecified goals, specified and unspecified strategies already alluded to in the overview of the characteristics of games, the following exhaustive 2 x 2 table provides an interesting classification of games

TABLE I
GAME CLASSIFICATION BASED ON GOALS AND STRATEGIES

		GOALS	
		SPECIFIED GOALS	UNSPECIFIED GOALS
S T R A T E G I E S	SPECIFIED STRATEGIES	Games of Individual Self-Testing (Stress/relief)	Cooperative Games Non-Zero-Sum
	UNSPECIFIED STRATEGIES	Competitive Games Zero-sum	Games of Diversion (Relief/stress)

Organization of Games

Competitive Games Games of pure competition can be thought of in terms of the "allocation of a fixed resource between two claimants with identical preferences and unspecified strategies" (Shimkin, 1966). These are zero-sum games and are exemplified by most ball games as we know and play them in contemporary western society (i. e. baseball, softball, football, basketball). The formulation of the term "zero-sum" stems from the fact that in a given game, what is lost by one player

(or a group of players) is gained by another (others) and thus the sum of the gains and losses is zero. Implicit in this definition of competition is the concept that competitors are equal at the outset but unequal at the end of the contest. The quest for equality of opportunity at the outset is an essential principle of competitive games. In cases where such equality does not exist, it is often re-established by assigning a handicap to the player (or players) of superior ability. What, in fact, is occurring is a series of controls of all parameters except the one being tested. In this way, the winner will appear to be superior in a precise category of feats.

Considered within this definition of the term "competition," games of chance can be clearly seen to represent a special category of competitive games. It is quite obvious that in games of chance an allocation of a fixed resource occurs between claimants with identical preferences and unspecified strategies. Further, the quest for equality of opportunity is apparent to the point that odds are offered when inequality of opportunity is known to exist.

Cooperative Games. In games of pure cooperation are found the combination of players who have complementary preferences and specified strategies. Within this framework, the players attempt to gain some unspecified goal, often against some outside opponent such as nature. These are non-zero-sum games and are sometimes referred to as games of social production (Shumkin, 1966). They require highly predictable tactics, but they do not require a close specification of the goals sought. In games of partial cooperation, a situation of mixed strategy often exists in which each player considers both his own optimum as well as that of his partner(s) who will help him. Activities participated in for the attainment of such unstructured goals as enjoyment, skill development, and vertiginous experience would typify cooperative games, (i. e. ring-around-the-rosies, Eskimo blanket tossing, spin-the-bottle). The necessity of initial equality does not exist within the concept of cooperative games.

Games of Diversion (or Recreative Games). Certain types of individual-oriented games are not readily amenable to classification. In earlier classifications many of these were subsumed, without any logical justification, under the rubric "minor amusements." Games such as kite flying and patience created difficulties for Caillois (1958) when he formulated his scheme. Within the present system, these games are considered to have neither closely defined goals nor clearly specified strategies. They tend to be found in situations where the player has been experiencing a state of relief and seeks to create a stress or diversion.

Games of Individual Self-Testing Many games exist in which both the goal and the strategies to be used in an attempt to gain that goal are clearly specified. The strategies are so clearly specified, in fact, that failure to adhere to them can result in immediate loss. Such games are typified by competitive gymnastics, figure skating, target shooting, and competitive diving. Unlike games of diversion, the player of individual self-testing games is in a state of stress prior to the activity and seeks to relieve it

For the purpose of this paper, the emphasis will reside in the position of games of cooperation and games of competition (cf., Deutsch, 1949, Mead, 1937) For the purpose of this essay, the following distinction between cooperation and competition is meaningful:

Competition or cooperation is directed toward the same social end by at least two individuals. In competition, moreover, the end sought can be achieved in equal amounts by some or not by all of the individuals thus behaving, whereas in cooperation it can be achieved by all or almost all of the individuals concerned (c.f., May and Doob, 1937).

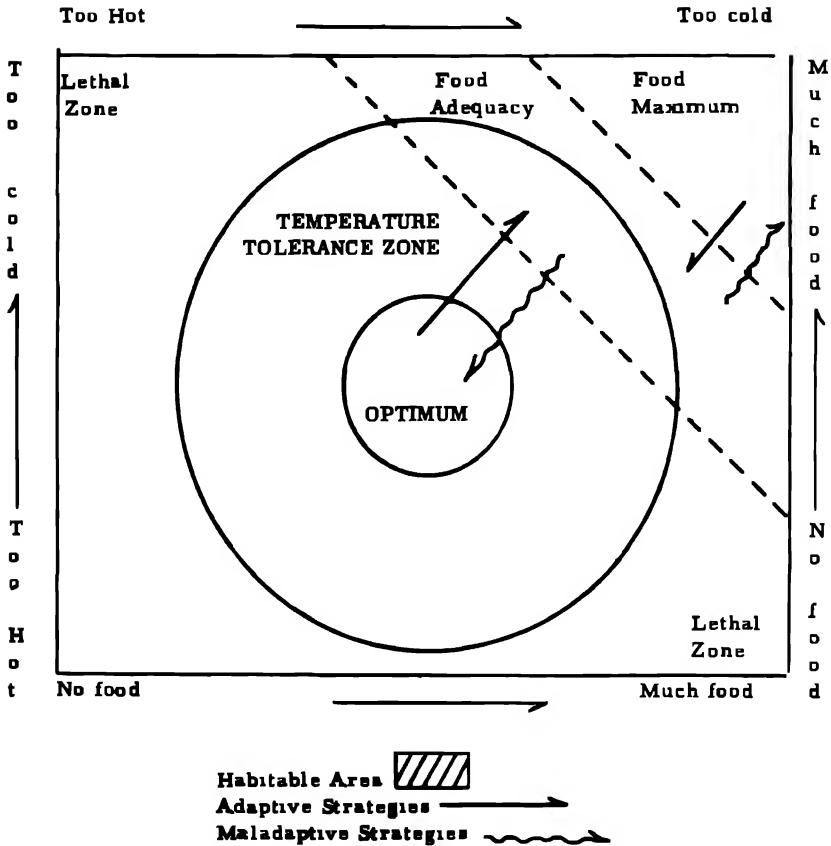
Lüschen (1968) cogently points out that it is important to realize that even in highly competitive sports contests, a degree of cooperation (or the development of an associational structure) between the two competing teams is essential. In addition to this type of cooperation or association, a second type of cooperation exists between members of the same team (intragroup cooperation) who are united against an opponent considered to be of equal ability. Both of these types of cooperation are essential to competitive games and are subsumed within that definition.

The central idea upon which this essay is based is that a traditional culture group such as the Canadian Eskimo will tend to incorporate maximin strategies and organized patterns of behavior. A simplified examination of the following model taken from Shmkin (1968) provides some insight into why this should be the case (See Figure 1).

Since no one is able to live within the optimum zone, and since there is no relative advantage for individuals within the tolerance zone, a cooperative maximin pattern should emerge. If, however, through changed social behavior, the habitable area was made to include part of the optimum region, competition would be keen among members who desired to establish themselves in this area. To maintain a position in this region would require high effort and high risk,

FIGURE 1

BALANCING ELEMENTARY CHOICES (Shimkin, 1968)



but the potential for high gain would exceed that in the region of tolerance.

The Canadian Eskimo

Environmentally and geographically, the Canadian Arctic has a high level of uniformity and is representative of a tolerance zone as contrasted to a zone of optimal conditions. It is a matter of record that in historic times whenever civilized man laboriously sought paths

into the Canadian Arctic, he usually found men there to meet him -- primitive, indigenous men who knew how to live with a high degree of security and efficiency in their uncanny cultural adaptation to the severe polar environments. Of overriding importance in the life cycle of these people was the shore line, the seasonal open waters, and the drift and shore ice. These determined the presence and accessibility of various sea animal species and the animals in turn strongly influenced the habitual movements, occupations and life patterns of these people. According to the ice conditions, water, and season, seals were taken by harpoon at the blowhole, by creeping attacks at the edge of the ice, from the kayak, or by nets. Caribou were hunted by kayak in lakes. The important thing to note is that the Eskimo constantly adapted his technique to maximize his security. When this could best be accomplished by the cooperation of several male members of the band, they would cooperate. When conditions dictated, hunters travelled alone. This is not to imply that the hunters competed with each other for the game. Quite the contrary was the case. Individual hunters by travelling in divergent directions, could maximize the possibility of obtaining food. At other times, group effort was required to surround and attack a herd of animals. Hunting methods were, in essence, of the maximin type, they were of the cooperative non-zero-sum form.

Settlement patterns provide further illustration of the organizational patterns and adaptive strategies of these people. Traditionally, such patterns hint of a relationship between population numbers and game availability, rather than game abundance, as is more often the case. Seals, for example, were no more abundant in the winter than in the summer, yet among the Eskimo, group settlements tended to be large in the winter and small in the summer (Boas, 1888, Jenness, 1922, Mathiasson, 1928). The paradox is that the largest population concentration occurred at the season of the more severe environmental pressure. One possible explanation has maximin, cooperative implications. Through communal living, the number of blubber lamps required for heating and cooking could be reduced, food captured could be more readily shared with all members of the group, available game could be more effectively exploited, and if a hunter was lost there were others nearby to help care for his family who would otherwise likely perish. In the summer, small family units could secure rather easily the necessities of life, and a nomadic existence was followed. This reduced the possibility of extensive depletion of available game and helped to maintain a favorable ecological balance.

The division of labor within the nuclear family also typified a non-zero-sum, cooperative organization pattern and a maximin strategy. The man was expected to be the hunter and to manufacture tools, weapons

and implements. He took the initiative in the struggle for existence by providing food for the family and by determining where the family lived during the course of each season. The women formed an essential second half of an economic partnership. Upon her rested the complicated routine necessary to convert densely furred and fatty skins into tanned leather suitable for use for clothes, footwear, kayak and umiak covers, dog harnesses and numerous other items. She was also responsible for nursing the children, preparing food, tending the blubber lamp, mending and sewing, gathering edible herbs and berries in the summer, and rowing the umiak. In short, each couple was a completely self-sufficient unit. When a culture group is faced with the stringent characteristics of an Arctic environment, such an adaptive strategy has definite maximum characteristics.

Marriage, which was deeply rooted in economic necessity, could, in fact, be divided into two component parts; on the one hand, the woman was a sex partner, and on the other hand, she was an economic partner. As a sex partner, great freedom was permitted. Wife-swapping practices clearly could be designated as cooperative (non-zero sum) and maximum in nature. The whole pattern was congruent with maximizing the security of the group as well as providing inter-settlement travellers with a security-check in the form of a woman who was originally a member of the group to be visited. If an Eskimo from village Z wished to travel to village B, it was sometimes necessary to provide some means of safeguard in order to protect against a hostile reception in village B. One safeguard was for the Eskimo who planned the journey to trade his wife for a woman who had relatives in village B. Such an interrelationship would help safeguard against foul play. As long as both couples were agreeable, the trade was made (cf., Rubel, 1961).

There was competition, however, in securing a wife as an economic partner. This was true not inasmuch as there was rivalry for one particular woman, as for any woman who was considered desirable. Desirability was strongly associated with cooperativeness. A valued wife was one who could work well with the man in their struggle for survival. The scarcity of women (due to the practice of infanticide) and the brittle nature of the Eskimo marriages made the competition for a good seamstress and housekeeper keen. In addition, there was a strong flavor of individual competition against nature inasmuch as these people had to wrest a living from a harsh environment. The stress-relief pattern was, therefore, a major condition in their life.

In summary, while the life style of the traditional Canadian Eskimo was highly individualistic, it was characterized in many instances by cooperative organization patterns and maximum adaptive strategies.

Game Organization Patterns Among the Canadian Eskimo

The question which now remains is: do the organization patterns of the games found in the traditional Eskimo culture reflect the kinds of strategies and patterns sketched in above? A number of ethnographical reports were reviewed, bearing in mind the definitions already suggested for the various classes of games. This, when coupled with field work in the Canadian Arctic, yielded a list of over seventy separate game forms.

Games of chance formed a substantial portion of the games that were described, and it is of interest to note that wagers which formed a major aspect of such games were frequently of great magnitude. Knives, cartridges, gunpowder, children, and in rare cases wives (Turner, 1894) were often the "table stakes". During the summer of 1969, one informant told the author that he knew of a case where a two year old boy had been wagered and lost in a game of chance and that, to the best of his knowledge, the boy was reared by the "foster" parents. Such games fall neatly within the definition of competitive games, and superficially, they would appear to represent a minimax strategy until one considers the curious manner which the Eskimo formerly had of managing gains and losses. It went as follows: The first winner was required to put up, as a stake, anything he or she desired. The second winner assumed ownership of the first stake, but in turn had to replace it with another object. This process continued throughout the game. Thus, the only one to lose anything was the first "winner" and the only one to win anything was the last winner (Boas, 1888, Low, 1906, Birket-Smith, 1929). From a society's standpoint this wagering technique may have had survival value as a means of random redistribution of resources and, hence, the facilitation of new adaptive strategies. Conceived in this way, these games of chance (competition or zero-sum) reflect a maximin strategy. It would be incorrect to imply that all wagering followed this precise pattern. Jenness (1922) and Mathiassen (1928) describe a system more closely related to that of the Euro-North American. Today the latter pattern is followed exclusively.

Games, such as blanket-toss or "nalukatuk", were often played in conjunction with festive occasions. In the case of blanket-toss, the association was with the "qaqruq", or the traditional sharing celebration following the whaling season. As was the case with the capturing of whales, the games required a high degree of cooperation (specified strategies and complementary goals, as it were). Contrary to the belief that the "nalukatuk" was performed by tossing the person high into the air so he could see open leads on the ice on which to hunt, or to spot game, the sport seems to have been performed for its own exhilarating, vertiginous experience which depends extensively on the

skill and strength of the pullers. Several forms of skipping and circle games involved this same type of cooperative pattern of organization as well. The friendly and cooperative links between the two sexes, which were so vital to the lives of these people, were generally noted in many of their play forms and games.

Various types of ball games were almost universal among the Eskimos (Boas, 1888, Turner, 1894, Nelson, 1899, Low, 1906; Jenness, 1922). Such games fall within the definition of games of competition, although traditionally many such activities had a magical or religious function. In the latter part of the 19th Century Boas (1888) observed one form of a ball game in which men whipped a ball around the settlement. He noted that it was part of a great feast connected with the goddess of animals and vegetation and as such was celebrated during the waning days of the year. Birket-Smith (1946) commented on a ball game in which the object was to control the ball and to prevent the opponents from doing so. This was played in the spring of the year and was purported to encourage the return of the sun. People of all ages participated in most ball games, from the aged and stooped grandmother to toddling youngsters (Turner, 1894), and the emphasis seems to have been on maximization of activity (and thereby security) and minimization of individual or team gain. In this respect such games have a strong maximin flavor.

The activity commonly labelled "cat's cradle" or string figures, but called "ayaghak" by the Eskimos, is of particular interest in that it has been noted in many widely separated cultures. In basic form, it is of the diversion or recreative type in that neither goals nor strategies are specified prior to participation. The technique of string manipulation is passed on from generation to generation and older Eskimos, even today, are capable of producing large numbers of intricate shapes representing birds, animals, people and other familiar objects. Jenness (1924) has completed an extensive study of Eskimo string figures in which he notes the marked similarity of many of the forms of figures from tribe to tribe as well as the numerous superstitions which existed among the Eskimos concerning these figures. In recent years, the activity has become of the competitive-type in that challenges to weave a specific figure faster than another individual are sometimes issued. This practice was not mentioned in the numerous ethnographies but it was noted by the author during the summer of 1969.

One further game should be noted because of its organization pattern. This is the game of "hide and seek" which was played in the reverse manner to that of Euro-North Americans. The Eskimo players came together in a closely packed circle facing inwards while

the individual who was "It" sought a hiding place. On a signal the group cooperated to seek out "It" and the game continued until all had had the opportunity to hide (Rasmussen, 1931). Within this framework, the game seems to have had a basically cooperative, maximum orientation in view of its relation to the training of hunting skills, skills which were essential to the security of these people.

Games of individual self-testing appear to have been of major importance in the traditional Eskimo culture. Such feats of strength as finger pull, neck pull, "striking contests" knuckle hopping, "allumartak" (a skin-the-cat type activity), "akaratchiak" or high kick, and others make up the bulk of the game forms. The term "striking contests" requires a brief explanation. The Eskimos did not box, but participated in hitting contests whereby one man stood unguarded and permitted his opponent to strike him an unmolested blow. The understanding was that the same privilege would accrue to the first struck (Low, 1906, Mathiassen, 1928). Such contests were often used as a means of settling personal feuds. It is important to note that the basic pattern of these games was of the stress-relief form and as such had a parallel with the stress-relief pattern in the struggle of the Eskimo people for survival. A man had to be aware of his ability to handle stress, he had to develop confidence in his own ability, he had to know his limitations. Games of this type provided immediately the feedback of information. Too, such games could be thought of as key training mechanisms for the life and death struggle against Nature where man faced stressful situations which had to be dealt with in order to create relief. In essence, such games were of the paired competitions or self-testing form where both goals and strategies were fully specified. Despite this, a maximum orientation is strongly suggested in most of these activities in that they focused on increasing the security of the group through the development of strength and confidence.

In summary, there is some evidence to indicate that the games of the traditional Canadian Eskimo tended to reflect the maximum, cooperative patterns of organization which tended to prevail within their culture. The use of a theoretical framework, such as that outlined, and the application of game theory, might well provide valuable insights into the relationships between economic organization patterns of a culture, adaptive strategies, and the organization of games among the people of various cultures.

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IV. The Interdependence of Sport and Culture

by

Günther Lüschen

INTRODUCTION

Sport is a rational, playful activity in interaction, which is extrinsically rewarded. The more it is rewarded, the more it tends to be work, the less, the more it tends to be play. If we describe it in an action system frame of reference, this activity depends on the organic, personality, social, and cultural systems. By tradition, physical education has tried to explain this action system largely on the grounds of the organic system, and sometimes making reference to the personality system. Only on rare occasions has it been approached systematically from the social and cultural systems as well. Yet it seems obvious that any action going on in this system ought to be explained with reference to all of the subsystems of the action system.

Even such a simple motor activity as walking is more than a matter of organic processes initiated by the personality system. It is determined by the social and cultural systems as well, as is most evident in the way the Israelians from the Yemen walk. Since in their former society in the Yemen, the Jews were the outcasts, and every Yemenite could feel free to hit a Jew (whenever he could get hold of one), the Yemenitic Jew would always run in order to escape this oppression. This way of walking finally became an integrated pattern of his culture. And though the environment in Israel no longer is hostile to him, the Yemenitic Israelite still carries this pattern with him as part of his culture and walks in a shy and hasty way. This example shows in addition that the different subsystems of action are not independent from one another, they are structurally related. Thus, in dealing with the cultural system of sport and its interdependence with general culture, we will not always be able to explain the culture of sport and that of its environment in terms of the cultural system, and therefore should refer as well to the social and personality system to describe and explain what we call culture. It was Radcliffe-Brown who stressed the point that culture should be explained through its social structure. Furthermore one should discuss the function of a unit within general culture, as well as cultural process and change (1952).

CONCEPTS OF CULTURE AND REVIEW OF RESULTS

Culture as a concept does not refer to behavior itself. It deals with those patterns and abstractions that underlie behavior or are the result of it. Thus culture exists of cognitive elements which grow out of everyday or scientific experience. It consists of beliefs, values, norms, and of signs that include symbols of verbal as well as non-verbal communication (cf., Johnson, 1960).

Anthropologists have sometimes held a broader view of culture and given more attention to the material results of human behavior. Leslie White in a critique of the above-stated concept of culture has called for more attention to "acts, thoughts and things dependent upon symboling." These would include not only the study of the above-mentioned elements, but also those of art, tools, machines, fetishes, etc (1959). As attractive as White's critique may be, especially for cultural anthropology as an independent science, this approach as related to the cultural study of sport has led more to mere curiosity about things than to theoretical insights. This methodological approach has also dealt more with the cultural diffusion of sport and games than with the social structure of which they are a part. For decades we have learned about all types of games in all types of societies (especially primitive ones), which may well lead to the conclusion that we know more about the games and sports displayed by some Polynesian tribe than those of our own children and ancestors. For an understanding of sport it is less important to find the same games in different cultures as Tylor did (1896). It is more important to analyze, for example, the different meaning of baseball in the United States and Lybia, which in the one culture has at least latent ritualistic functions, while it has also economic functions in the other (Gini, 1939).

Another concept of culture, mainly held in Central Europe, has almost led to the same results for sport. In this concept "higher" culture was separated from civilization and expressed itself significantly in the arts and sciences. On the basis of values attributed to sport a priori, it was related either to "Zivilisation" or to Kultur. Physical educationalists through Huizinga's theory on the origin of culture in play saw in the latter approach their main support (1955). Thus defining sport as a special form of play, physical educationalists felt safe in their implicit attempt to justify sport for educational purposes. Yet Huizinga's theory has not only been criticized on the basis of ethnological findings, (c.f., Jensen, 1942), but he himself was very critical about the play element in sport. Those that believed in the role of sport within higher culture were hardly able to prove their hypothesis. So, as recently as Rene Maheu (1962), they often expressed

their hope that sport in the future would contribute to "Kultur."

One can hardly deny that sport has indeed some impact on "higher" culture, as may be shown by symbolic elements from sport to be found in script and language. In an analysis of the cultural meaning of the ballgame of the Aztecs and Maya, Krickeberg found that in their script there were elements related to this game. The symbol for movement, for example, was identical with the I-shape of the ball court (1948). "To get (take) a rain check" refers to baseball, but has now become in American English symbolic for any situation where you get another chance. "That's not cricket" refers to a dishonest procedure in everyday life. And though German is not as idiomatic as English, it contains elements which originated in sport and games as well. "Katzbalgerei," and the phrase "sich gegenseitig die Bälle zuspielen," refer to a game which today is still known in the Netherlands as "Kaatsen" and perhaps appears in the New York children's game of one-o-cat. As did football in Shakespeare's "King Lear," so appeared this game and its terminology in the 16th century poetry of J. G. Fischart.

How weak these relationships of sport indeed are to "higher" culture may be shown by the relatively unsuccessful attempts to establish, through special contests in modern Olympics, a relationship between sport and the arts. Sport only rarely expresses itself in the material aspects of culture. It is what I would like to call a momentary activity. Just from a certain level on, an event may have its appearance on such a short range cultural element as the sports page of the next day's newspaper. This appearance of sport in the media of mass communication, in language, poetry, and the arts is significant for the overall meaning of sport within society, but these manifestations tell us little about sport itself and its interdependence with general culture as we define it.

It may also be interesting to discuss cognitive elements such as scientific insight coming out of sport. Also religious beliefs and ritual found in sport would be an interesting point of analysis. Yet after showing how sport is indeed bound to society and structured by general culture, we will mainly discuss our problem on the level of cultural values and their related social structure.

SPORT AS PART OF CULTURE AND SOCIETY

That sport is structurally related to culture and society has sometimes been questioned. Yet it is quite easy to show how strong this relationship is. Sport is indeed an expression of that socio-cultural system in which it occurs. David Riesman and Reuel Denney describe how American football was changed through the American culture from rugby to a completely different game. It is now well

integrated and quite obviously shows in its vigor, hard contact and a greater centrality on the individual the basic traits of the culture of American society (1954).

On the level of the so-called primitive societies we see the same dependence of sport and games on culture and its underlying social structure. The Hopi Indians had 16 different terms for foot races which nearly all referred to one aspect of the social organization of that tribe (Culin, 1907). A recent socio-historical study on three Illinois subcultures finds the same close relationship between socio-cultural system and sport (Hill, 1966). And Kåte Hye-Kerkdal outlines the tight structural relation between the log-races of the tribe of the Timbira in Brazil and their socio-cultural system. This ritualistic competition between two teams has symbolic meaning for nearly every aspect of the dual organization of this tribe. It refers to all kinds of religious and social polarities and is so strongly imbedded in this religious-dominated system that winning or losing does not have any effect on the status of the team or individual, nor are there any other extrinsic rewards. Yet these races are performed vigorously and with effort (1956).

Now that we have proven that there is a structural relationship between sport and culture, the first question is that of sport's dependency on culture. What factors make for the appearance of sport? Or more specifically, what are the underlying cultural values?

CULTURAL VALUES AND SPORT

By values we mean those general orientations in a socio-cultural system that are not always obvious to its members, but are implicit in actual behavior. On the level of the personality system they are expressed partly in attitudes. Values should be separated from norms which are derived from values and are actual rules for behavior. For instance, health is a high value in the American culture, as it seems to be in all young cultures, while death is higher in the hierarchy of values in old cultures like India (Parsons, 1960). On this continuum we may explain why sport as an expression of the evaluation of health is more important in American than in Indian society. The whole emphasis on physical fitness in the United States may well be explained by this background, and the norm "run for your life" is directly related to it.

Sport, Industrialization and Technology

In comparing the uneven distribution and performance level of sport all over the world, one widely accepted hypothesis is that sport is an offspring of technology and industrialization. The strong

emphasis on sport in industrialized societies seems to show that industrialization and technology are indeed a basis for sport. This would be a late confirmation of Ogburn's theory of social change, as well as of Marxian theory that society and its structure depend on its economic basis. However, there are quite a number of inconsistencies. Not all sport-oriented societies or societal subsystems show a relation to technology and industrialization, and historically games and sport have been shown to have existence prior to industrialization. Yet it can hardly be denied that certain conditions in the later process of industrialization have promoted sport, and technology has at least its parallels in modern sport. The above-stated hypothesis may, despite its obvious limitations, lead us to the independent variables.

Sport, A Protestant Subculture?

In an investigation that because of its methodological procedure turned out to be a profound critique of Marxian materialism, Max Weber studied the interrelationship of what he called "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism." (1920). This investigation about the underlying values of capitalism in Western societies quoted data on the overrepresentation of Protestants in institutions of higher learning, their preference for industrial and commercial occupations and professions and the stronger trend towards capitalism in Protestant-dominated countries (most obvious in the United States). Weber found not the material basis but Protestant culture, with achievement of worldly success and asceticism held as the basic values, caused industrialization and capitalism. In accordance with the Calvinistic belief in predestination, the Protestant felt that he was blessed by God once he had achieved success. Thus, need for achievement became an integrated part of his personality and a basic value in Protestantism. Together with the value of asceticism this led to the accumulation of wealth and to Western capitalism. If we turn to sport, we find the same values of achievement and asceticism. Even the Puritans, generally opposed to a leisurely life, could therefore justify sport as physical activity that contributed to health (cf., McIntosh, 1963). Today we find significance for this relationship in the YMCA, in a group like the American Fellowship of Christian Athletes, and also in the Protestant minister who in Helsinki became an Olympic medal winner in the pole vault. He showed the consistency between Protestantism and sport in his prayer right after his Olympic winning vault. Max Weber's findings about the relationship between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism may thus well be extended to the "spirit" of sport. Not only Weber was aware of this relationship, but also Thorstein Veblen who described the parallels in religious and sport ritual (1899).

The relationship between sport and Protestantism is not only to be observed in the emphasis on sport in the Scandinavian and other Protestant countries. A rough compilation of the probable religious preference of Olympic medal winners on the basis of the percentage of different religious groups in their countries also shows the dominance of Protestantism up to 1960. Protestantism accounted for more than 50 per cent of the medal winners, while its ratio among the world population is less than 8 per cent (Lüschen, 1962). Furthermore, in 1958 a survey of young athletes in West Germany by Lüschen showed the following distribution according to religious preference:

	Whole Population West Germany	Sport Club Members 15-25	Track Swimming	High Achievers Track/ Swimming
Protestants	52 %	60 %	67 %	73 %
Catholics	44 %	37 %	31 %	26 %
Others	4 %	3 %	2 %	1 %
n =	universe	1,880	366	111

These figures indicate the overrepresentation of Protestants in German sport. Moreover, they indicate a higher percentage in individual sports, and an even higher percentage of Protestants among those that have achieved a higher level of performance. Thus it may be concluded that there is a correlation between Protestantism and sport and the culture of both. This was obvious for individual sports, but less for team sports where in the German sample Catholics appeared quite often. Since in Catholicism collectivity is highly regarded, this inconsistency is to be explained by the value of collectivity in team sports. It is consistent with this hypothesis that Catholic Notre Dame University has been one of the innovators of football in America. At present, it is a leading institution in this discipline. And internationally Catholic-dominated South America is overall rather poor in individual sports, but outstanding in team sports like soccer and basketball.

This result on the overall, strong relationship between sport and Protestantism is, despite support by data, theoretically insufficient. As was the case with sport in its relationship to industrialization, there are many exceptions. The high achievement in sport of the Russians, the Poles, the Japanese, the Mandan Indians, the Sikhs in India, or the Watusi in Africa can not be related to Protestantism though in Japanese Zen-Buddhism there are parallels.

The Centrality of the Achievement-Value

Since again Protestantism can not be specifically identified as

being the independent variable, we may hypothesize that there is a more general system of values as the basis for Protestantism, capitalism and sport. In his critique of Max Weber, McClelland has considered the ethic of Protestantism as a special case of the general achievement orientation of a system, this being the independent variable. Achievement orientation (or, as he puts it on the personality-system-level, need-achievement) precedes all periods of high cultural achievement in ancient Greece, in the Protestant Reformation, in modern industrialism and, as we may conclude, in modern sport. He referred in his analysis also to the related social structure of the achievement value (such as family organization), which should also be studied in relationship to sport.

If we turn again to the cross-cultural comparison of those systems that participate and perform strongly in sport, we find that in all of these societies achievement-orientation is basic. In Russia this value is expressed in the norm that social status should depend only on achievement. The Sikhs and the Watusi are both minority groups in their environment. In order to keep their position, they have to achieve more than the other members of the societies they live in. The Japanese (Bellah, 1957) and the Mandan Indians (McClelland, 1961) also place a heavy emphasis on achievement.

Similar results appear in cross-cultural investigations of different types of games as related to basic orientations in the process of socialization. Roberts and Sutton-Smith find in a secondary analysis of the Human Relation Area Files of G. P. Murdock that games of chance are related to societies that emphasize routine responsibility in the socialization process. Games of strategy are found in societies where obedience, games of physical skill in those where achievement is stressed (1963). Individual sports would mainly qualify as games of physical skill and again show achievement as their basic cultural value. Team sports as well are games of strategy. Their relation to training of obedience would support exactly what we called earlier the value of collectivity.

It remains an open question, for further research into the value structure of sport, as to which other values are related to this system. It is to be expected that the structure of values will be more complex than it appears on the basis of our limited insight now. Roberts and Sutton-Smith briefly remark that games of physical skill are related to occupational groups that exert power over others (1963). Thus, power orientation may be another value supporting sport. This would cross-culturally be consistent with power-oriented political systems that strongly emphasize sport. Here we could refer to countries like Russia or the United States, as well as to a tribe like the Mandan Indians.

The Culture of Societal Subsystems and Its Relation to Sport

Within a society we find subsystems that have their own subculture, which will be another condition for sport. The female role in modern societies still depends on a culture that stresses obedience as the main value-orientation, while the male culture is strongly oriented towards achievement. Thus we find a disproportionately high participation of men in sport which in most of the disciplines is a male culture. One of the most male-oriented sports, however, is pool, a game supported mainly by the subculture of the bachelor. This has, with the general change in the number of people marrying, lost its main supporting culture (Polsky, 1967).

Another subsystem which in its culture shows a strong relationship to sport is that of the adolescent age group (cf. Coleman, 1961). Sport is dependent more on the culture of the adolescent than on that of any other age group. Helanko raises the point, referring to his studies of boys' gangs in Turku, that sport has its origin in the gang-age and in boys' gangs. The fact that there are no rules for early sports to be found is seen as one of the supporting factors (1957). Generally speaking, achievement is again more central as a value in adolescence and early adulthood than later, where the main response to sport goes not so much towards achievement but towards values of health and fitness.

The different social classes have a culture of their own. The greatest emphasis on achievement, and thus the highest sport participation, is to be found in the upper-middle class. It is considerably less important in the lower class where routine responsibility is valued. The notion that there is no way to gain higher status accounts for the high regard for games of chance or those sports where one may just have a lucky punch, as in boxing (Weinberg and Arond, 1952). Loy has related the different types of games and the passive and active participation in sport to different modes of adaptation and to the members of social classes (1966). His theoretical analysis as to "innovation" found in the lower class, ritualism in the lower-middle class and conformity in the upper-middle class is supported by data (cf. Lüschen, 1963; Loy, 1969) that show the same ways of adaptation in sport. However, in responding to the social class system and its culture as related to sport one should have in mind that class determined behavior may not follow the traditional class lines in sport. Sport may indeed show or promote new orientations in the class system (Kunz and Lüschen, 1966).

Finally, sport is organized within, or relates to different associations whose cultures sometime have a profound influence on sport itself. This is especially true for physical education in schools

where, with the same skills and rules, we may find a completely different culture as compared to sport in the military establishment. And while intercollegiate and interscholastic athletics are overall a surprisingly well integrated subculture within American schools and universities, the different values held by an educational (the school or university) and a solely success-oriented unit (the team) may well lead to strong value conflicts. This could result in a complete separation of school and athletics.

FUNCTIONS AND DYSFUNCTIONS

After we have found achievement asceticism in individual sports, obedience (collectivity) in team sports, and exertion of power, the basic value orientations that give structure to this activity, we may then proceed to the second question: How does sport influence the socio-cultural system at large? Though we have little evidence through research, we may on the basis of structural-functional methodology be able to outline the basic functions of sport for pattern maintenance, integration, adaptation and goal attainment.

The Functions of Sport Within Culture and Society

As in the case of the Timbira, Hye-Kerkdal states that the basic values of that culture were learned through the log-race. Furthermore, the participants were functionally integrated into the social system (1956). Thus, we may hypothesize that the main functions of sport are pattern maintenance and integration.

Since sport implies (as we saw) basic cultural values, it has the potential to pass these values on to its participants. We know from studies of the process of socialization that the exposure of children to competitive sport will cause these children to become achievement-motivated, the earlier this exposure occurs, the more achievement-motivated they become (Winterbottom, 1953). And the child's moral judgment may, for instance, be influenced through games such as marbles. Again, according to Piaget, the child not only becomes socialized to the rules but at a later age he also gets an insight into the underlying structure and function of the rules of a game, and thus into the structure and function of social norms and values as such (1965). Overall, from the level of primitive societies to modern societies, sport not only socializes to the system of values and norms but in primitive societies it socializes towards adult and warfare skills as well.

Since we mentioned that sport is also structured along such societal subsystems as different classes, males, urban areas, schools and communities, we should say it functions for integration of these systems as well as for the society at large. This is most obvious in

spectator sports where the whole country or community identifies with its representatives in a contest. Thus, sport functions as a means of integration, not only for the actual participants, but also for the represented members of such a system.

Sport in modern societies may function for goal-attainment on the national polity level. In primitive societies, sport functions for adaptation as well as goal-attainment since the sport skills of swimming, hunting and fishing are used to supply food and mere survival.

Possible Dysfunctions of Sport and Social Control

A question should be raised at this point asking whether sport is dysfunctional for culture and society as well. Th. W. Adorno called sport an area of unfreedom ("ein Bereich der Unfreiheit"), (1957) in which he obviously referred to the differentiated code of rules which earlier led Huizinga to his statement that excluded sport from play (1955). Both seem to overlook what Piaget called the reciprocity and mutual agreement on which such rules rest (1965). And they may also be considered as an expression of a highly structured system

Another dysfunctional element for culture and for the sport system itself could be the centrality of achievement. It has such a high rank in the hierarchy of values of sport that, by definition, the actual objective performance of a member of this system will decide the status he gets. In the core of sport, in the contest on the sports field, there is only achieved status. It seems that there is no other system or any societal subsystem, with the exception of combat, where achievement ranks that high. It may create conflict once this value-orientation is imposed on the whole culture, and it may create conflict within the system of sport itself since its members bring other values into this system as well. M. Mead in an investigation of competition and cooperation (the first concept of which is related to achievement) of primitive peoples, however, finds that there seems to be no society where one of these principles existed alone (1946). And on the micro-sociological level, small groups seem to control this value by discriminating against those that deviate from the group norm of a fair performance (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939). Thus, one would notice some kind of a mechanism built into a social system like a group that keeps it in a state of balance. Exactly this seems to happen within sport where the sporting groups themselves and their differentiated organizational and institutional environment exert social control on those participants achieving beyond a certain level.

In a survey of sport club members in Germany it was found that the norms expressed for an athlete's behavior referred surprisingly less to the achievement value but more often to a value of affiliation, which is to be defined as a positive orientation towards other group members or opponents. Fair play was the one mentioned most frequently. The value of affiliation expressed by the respondents was found more in normative statements the higher their level of performance. On the basis of the hypothesized mechanism of social control, they are under stronger pressure to affiliate with others (Lüschen, 1963). This may explain (on the basis of this structural relationship) why in the culture of sport we find not only the value of achievement but also that of fair play and other affiliative orientations.

However, achievement and affiliation may not necessarily be related. It depends on the amount of social control imposed on sport from the internal as well as external system, whether this relationship will be strong or weak. In professional boxing these controls are very weak, while in golf with the handicap rule, they seem to be comparatively strong (Lüschen, 1970).

How much this pattern would influence the culture as such is an open question. Yet it seems not so mis-oriented as often thought when Oetinger stated that sport would provide a good model for political partnership (1954). We may on the basis of our findings hypothesize that also on the political level the amount of social control will decide whether two or more systems will coexist or not.

Sport and Socio-Cultural Change

After we have discussed the culture and underlying social structure of sport and its function, we are left with Radcliff-Brown's third programmatic point -- that of social and cultural change. We know little about the role of sport in socio-cultural change, though we hypothesized earlier that it may have a function of innovation, or at least structural relationship to changes in the system of social classes. Sport has also functioned as an initiator for the diffusion of technical inventions, such as the bicycle or the automobile (Kroeber, 1963). The same holds true to a degree for conduct in regard to fashion and a healthy life. Typically, this question of change has been highly neglected so far.

Sport and Cultural Evolution

If we finally try to explain the different cross-cultural appearance of sport on the basis of an evolutionary theory, it is hard to justify on the basis of our present knowledge about the appearance of sport that there are such things as primitive and developed cultures of sport.

The Mandan Indians had a highly developed sport culture, the Australian aboriginals, as perhaps the most primitive people known to us today, know quite a variety of recreational activities and physical skills, and the variety of competitive games in Europe and America in the past was perhaps richer than today.

An evolution can only be seen on a vertical level which on the one hand shows in a state of mechanic solidarity rather simple rules in sport and games, while in a state of organic solidarity, as in modern industrialized societies, the code of rules and the structure of games get more differentiated

What we may furthermore state is that, on the level of primitive cultures, sport's function is universal, often religious, collectively oriented, and in the training of skills, representative and related to adult and warfare skills, while modern sport's function may be called specific for pattern maintenance and integration, is individual oriented and nonrepresentative in the training of skills. The rewards are more intrinsic in primitive cultures, while they are more extrinsic in the sport of modern cultures. Thus, referring to our definition at the beginning, one may well differentiate between physical and recreational activities of primitive cultures and sport in modern cultures (c.f. Damm, 1960)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The interdependence of sport and culture, up to now mainly outlined on the basis of sport's contribution to higher culture (Kultur), was discussed on sport's relation to culture with the emphasis on values, sport's function for the socio-cultural system and its relation to change and evolution

The system of sport, an integrated part of the socio-cultural system, seems to depend on the industrialized, technological or Protestant religious system. Yet cross-culturally it appears that these systems as intermediate variables are just special cases of a more general system. This is determined for sport by the achievement-value, a value of collectivity and supposedly power orientation. On the basis of these cultural value orientations one may explain the uneven distribution of sport as such, and of team sports versus individual sports in certain socio-cultural systems.

Sport's function for a socio-cultural system can mainly be seen for pattern maintenance and integration, in modern polity dominated societies as well for goal attainment. In primitive cultures it is universal and thus functions for adaptation as well.

Though a relation of sport to social change is obvious (sport fulfills a certain role for innovation), this neglected question of social change needs more careful investigation. Evolutionary theories applied to sport need more study as well, this might contribute to evolutionary theories as such. It appears that physical activity on the level of "primitive" cultures should be kept apart from sport in modern cultures since meaning and manifest functions are as universal on the one level as they are specific and segmentary on the other.

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The Cross-Cultural and Psychological Study of Games

by

Brian Sutton-Smith and John M. Roberts

This article will be in the form of a summary statement of a series of researches which have been published or are to be published in detail elsewhere. Beginning in 1959 with an initial cross cultural study by Roberts, Arth, & Bush, our intent has been to use cross-cultural evidence to establish hypotheses about the function of games in culture, and then to proceed to psychological studies within our own culture as a means of testing these hypotheses.

In the initial study, games were defined as competitive activities which always terminate in an outcome, namely, winning, drawing, or losing (Roberts, Arth, & Bush, 1959). Three classes of games, games of physical skill, chance and strategy became the subject-matter of inquiry. Games of physical skill were defined as those in which the outcomes are determined by the player's motor activities (marathon races, darts, etc.); games of chance were those in which the outcome is determined by a guess or some external artefact such as a die or wheel (bingo, roulette), games of strategy were those in which the outcome is determined by rational choices (checkers, chess, go, etc.). The games with which most of us are familiar are mixtures of these elements. Thus, football involves physical skill and strategy, and poker involves chance and strategy. By and large we restricted our inquiry to the pure types of games alone.

CROSS-CULTURAL FINDINGS

Cross-cultural analyses were based on the Human Relations Area Files. While there appear to be some cultures with no games, physical skill games had the widest distribution, chance games were of intermediate distribution and the games of strategy were the most restricted of these three classes. If we take these types of games, in turn, we may summarize our information as follows:

Cultures without games

Games are so nearly universal in culture that it was a surprise to discover that some cultures had no games. In all probability the cultures scored as lacking games fall into three groups: (1) cultures

which have never had games, e g the Yir Yuront, (2) cultures which have lost games through a process of deculturation, e g possibly the Cuna, and (3) cultures which, in fact, possess games, but which have been erroneously scored as lacking them, e g , perhaps the Hinchol

Unfortunately, the sample of cultures lacking games is small and unsatisfactory, and so we are somewhat uncertain about the basic data. It is still profitable, however, to consider the contrast between the societies scored as possessing games and those which have been scored as lacking them. In general, they appear to be tropical groups with simple subsistence patterns, simple technology, low political organization, no class stratification, kin-homogeneous communities, no bride-price, low obedience training and low stress in child socialization. They are cultures which appear to be quite noncompetitive when compared with cultures which do have games. This is consistent with one of our earlier findings that the greater number of types of games possessed by a culture, the greater concern was shown for the induction of achievement (competitiveness) in the child training procedures (Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1962)

Cultures possessing games of physical skill alone

This game category establishes the minimal level or baseline against which the remaining game categories can be compared. These cultures are found in tropical regions. Their subsistence economics and technologies are simple. Communities are small. The level of political integration is low. Class stratification is absent. The judicial system is undeveloped. Child socialization is easy, and anxieties and conflicts are low. Sexual satisfaction is high. They are not warlike. They give a general impression of simplicity, particularly when they are contrasted with the chance and strategy categories. As contrasted with the no game cultures, however, there seems to be increased sex segregation and more independent families (rather than extended) which suggests the possibility of greater needs for and emphasis upon masculine self-reliance in hunting, fishing, etc. The ethnographic accounts, for example, contain many records of the elders encouraging the young boys in games of spear-throwing and archery, which have an obvious relationship to the adaptive skills required of males in the adult culture.

Cultures with games of chance

In all probability all cultures possessing games of chance also possess games of physical skill. In addition, however, some of them possess games of strategy. In many ways this particular chance

game category is the most complex of the three pure types considered here, and it is the least easy to understand theoretically

In general, chance cultures display a wide range of cultural complexity varying from quite simple cultures to the most complex known today. Yet since these games are fundamentally simpler than games of strategy, and since games of strategy are known to be associated with cultural complexity, it is reasonable to assume that chance playing began in relatively simple settings. The most important conclusion is that games of chance appear to flourish in the presence of environmental, individual and social uncertainty regardless of the relative complexity of the cultures in which they occur. Only a few of the relationships which have been the basis for this conclusion can be given here. They are detailed more fully elsewhere (Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1966). For example, if we contrast the simple chance cultures (those which lack games of strategy) with the simple physical skill cultures (those which lack both games of strategy and games of chance), these simple chance cultures in comparison with the simple physical skill cultures are found in higher latitudes where there are striking seasonal chances and greater cold. Their settlements are non-fixed. Their food supply is not secure and food shortages are frequent or annual. For subsistence they rely primarily on hunting, fishing and collecting, also uncertain procedures. The communities are small indicating a marginal subsistence base.

First cousin marriage is not permitted and to this extent there is an increased probability of an uncertain search for a spouse. The divorce rate is high. The early sexual satisfaction potential is low. Sexual socialization anxiety is high. Premarital sexual relations are not freely permitted. Child socialization also appears to be severe. Finally, religious divinatory procedures as well as games of chance are customary means of decision-making. A game of chance in such cultures appears to be a way of making up one's mind with the help of a benevolent Fate, when life conditions are sufficiently uncertain that one has no better instrumental procedures for decision-making.

Cultures with games of strategy

Cultures possessing games of strategy are at a higher level of cultural complexity than the cultures in the other game categories. Larger settlements, more complicated subsistence patterns, higher technology, higher levels of political integration, jurisdiction, social stratification, occupational specialization and many other traits confirm the fact that these cultures are complex.

Child socialization tends to be severe. There are briefer periods of nurturance, a high inferred transition anxiety, a high

pain inflicted by nurturant agent, a low degree of reduction of the infant's drives, low overall indulgence and high responsibility, achievement, self-reliance and obedience training. Here the child must be obedient and responsible, but at the same time he must be achieving and self-reliant, all of this within the context of a stratified and highly organized social system.

The cultural correlates are impressive: there are political, judicial, economic, military and religious organizations in which strategic skills and strategic decisions are rewarded. It is not hard to envisage games of strategy as forms of social system learning in contexts of this character.

In a parallel study of folktales, furthermore, we have established that folktales with strategic elements flourish in the same cultural environments as games of strategy (Roberts, Sutton-Smith, & Kendon, 1963).

Cultures possessing games of physical skill, games of chance and games of strategy

These are the most complex of all of the cultures discussed. Every modern industrial society, of course, falls in this group and most, if not all, of the classic cultures known to history and archaeology. They appear to be an amalgam of the general physical skill tradition with an overlay of chance, and then, very importantly an overlay of strategy. The antecedent conditions for involvement in both chance and strategy appear to be present.

These then are a sample of the findings from a number of studies. They challenge the traditional view that games are of no functional significance. Furthermore, they suggest that at least on the empirical level, there is evidence in favor of both classic psychogenic (Freudian) and sociogenic (Groos) theories of play. Games appear to require a theoretical structure which will account both for their relationship to child-training antecedents and to their cultural outcomes. What the nature of such a theory might be has been suggested in our conflict-enculturation theory of games (Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1962).

PSYCHOLOGICAL FINDINGS

Everyone is familiar with the weaknesses of cross-cultural research, beginning with inadequacies in the records that form the substance of the cross-cultural and human relations area files, and going on to the more fundamental question of whether you can lift traits out of a cultural context and then treat them as similar. One

answer to these criticisms is to show that relationships discovered cross-culturally can be replicated intraculturally, a procedure we have termed sub-system replication

Our earliest predictions were that the types of child-training which had been associated with the games on a cross-cultural basis should allow us to make predictions that girls and women would show greater preference for games of chance and strategy and boys and men for games of physical skill, and lower status persons for games of chance, and higher status persons for games of strategy and physical skill were borne out in several studies (Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1962, Sutton-Smith, Roberts, & Kozelka, 1963)

Most of our earlier problems with psychological studies lay with the development of adequate measures of play and game involvement. Obviously if game playing was to be systematically related to other psychological variables in the personality of the player, it must first be of some considerable importance to the player. Studies using preference measures such as those mentioned above had obvious drawbacks. What the subjects said they did in response to such inventories did not always correspond to their actual behavior (Sutton-Smith, 1965). Measures using a temporal criterion were somewhat more useful in an unpublished study by Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg. College students claiming to play less than five hours a week of sports recorded a depressive profile on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, while students reporting more than 30 hours recorded a hysterical profile. A more normal profile was reported by students with between five and 30 hours in unpublished interview studies by Roberts and Kendon with students who were game addicts, playing more than 30 hours of chess or bridge per week, showed the former to be somewhat asocial and disputations and the latter to be quite gregarious and to prefer avoiding argumentation (1963).

A sociometric measure was also used in an attempt to discover whether game playing was a model of more general personality characteristics. Children were asked to nominate their peers who were leaders because of: (a) their ideas for things to do (strategists), (b) their power, bravery, and courage (potents), (c) their luck (fortunists). There were various supportive findings, but the most meaningful were those for the boys distinguished as Strategists or Potents. Strategists and Potents each preferred their own type of game on a play inventory. The former were seen as good sports, but not good at sport, and the latter were seen as good at sport, but not good sports. We felt that the ability of our strategists to be seen as good sports, though not good at sport, was quite a strategic accomplishment for preadolescent boys (Sutton-Smith & Roberts, 1964).

Later we also found that such boys were actually better at the games they preferred. We had thus established a construct consistency between their being seen as strategists, their preferring strategy games and their being good at them

Still these evidences were all somewhat tenuous. What we needed was a measure of game involvement which would be reliable enough to provide a sufficient justification for the expectation that the player's game addiction would be an expression of his personality in general. Up to this point we had used only preference measures, measures of the number of hours per week spent game playing and the sociometric measure. It seemed that a test of game competence might provide a more critical measure. We began with strategy because we had already had our best results with that game variable.

To this end and with the help of Robert Kozelka, a mathematician of Williams College, we created a test of strategic competence. We began with the most elementary and the most general of all strategy games, namely Tick Tack Toe. The test was composed of six parts of six different games and in each part the player was expected to make the next move. Possible moves were scored for their probability of contributing towards a win or a draw. Each was treated separately and compared with the probability that the player would lose. The results were the most consistent and meaningful for boys who played with a high win probability. These boys tended to win in real Tick Tack Toe tournaments, to have a high I Q and to be especially good at problem-solving and arithmetic (Roberts, Hoffman, & Sutton-Smith, 1965). They were perceived by their peers as "strategists" (care of the previous sociometric), they were observed to persist with intellectual tasks, and to rapidly reduce intellectual tasks to a habit level. Boys who played with a high draw probability were adult dependent but high need achievers on McClelland's projective measure. Girls who were winners were aggressive, hyperactive and masculine. Girls who played for a draw were feminine and socially withdrawing (Sutton-Smith & Roberts, 1967). We would like to interpret this information as indicating that the tick tack toe competence is just part of a more generalized strategic competence, manifest also in these other logically congruent ways. But, of course other interpretations are also possible.

What is established by this series of studies at the most parsimonious level of interpretation is that game competence (of this sort, for boys and for winning) is systematically related to other psychological variables, which is somewhat the same conclusion we reached after the cross-cultural studies. That is, both lines of study converge to the view that games are functional. Furthermore, in both series of studies the games have been empirically related to variables that can be construed as their antecedents and to other variables that can be construed as

their outcomes, so that a theory which embraces psychogenic as well as sociogenic explanations seems required.

DISCUSSION

In several articles we have presented a theory of play to account for the presence of both these psychogenic and sociogenic correlates (Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1962, Sutton-Smith & Roberts, 1964). This theory says that the individual and psychological motivation for game playing is the presence in the player of anxieties and conflicts induced by antecedent child-training processes. The game is enjoyable to the player because it consists in a symbolic statement of these conflicts, and because in the course of the buffered learning which the game provides, the player develops confidence and competence to handle the real life situations towards which the original anxieties point. A brief illustration must suffice. On the basis of an earlier symbolic analysis of children's central person games (tagging, hide and seek, red rover, etc.), we had postulated that they represent the child's anxieties about exercising independence during the transition from primary to secondary ties. In the course of the game the child can either manifest the endangering independence by running out from safe bases and tackling strange persons (The "It") or he can retreat to the safety of the home or base (Sutton-Smith, 1959). A cross-cultural test for the presence of these types of games demonstrated a significantly greater concern with independence training in those cultures where these games were present. In addition, in those same cultures there were marriage customs requiring the girl to go out from her own kin group and marry amongst relative strangers. It is this double relationship of the games both to the inducing child-training procedure and the required adult cultural performance that has led us to entitle our theory a conflict-enculturation theory of games. Such a theory is, of course, based only on empirically demonstrated correlates. It has not been actually demonstrated that the child training does induce these game proclivities or that the games do prepare the children for their role performances, though the great usage of games in social science theorizing and in war and business simulation does not make it difficult to believe that games actually do influence their players. We have, in fact, made some earlier demonstrations of that sort (Gump & Sutton-Smith, 1955).

Our work on the enculturative end of this theory has led us to the formulation that games are, among other things, models of power. Games are, we suggest, models of ways of succeeding over others, by magical power (as in games of chance), by force (as in physical skill games), or by cleverness (as in games of strategy). We have

speculated that in games children learn all those necessary arts of trickery, deception, harassment, divination and foul play that their teachers won't teach them, but that are most important in successful human interrelationships in marriage, business and war. Further that boys played games of physical skill because this is the power form that they can most easily command; and that girls showed a preference for games of strategy and chance because these are the lesser power forms available to them. A full statement of this point of view, however, is reserved for a forthcoming work to be titled: Games, Models of Power.

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V. Sport in Modern Societies

On Bullfights and Baseball: An Example of Interaction of Social Institutions

by

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and

Arnold Meadow

A "social institution," typically considered, is "a comparatively stable, permanent and intricately organized system of behavior formally enforced within a given society and serving social objectives regarded as essential for the survival of the group." Four major social institutions are found very widely in human society: 1) economic, 2) familial, 3) political, and 4) religious. Through these the society strives to achieve material well-being, an adequate population, organization, and some feeling of control over the unknown or unexpected. As a society becomes more urbanized, more "highly developed," it may evolve additional institutions, such as the recreational, the educational and the aesthetic, which take over functions no longer adequately performed by the basic four.

Since individuals have overlapping roles in a number of the society's institutions, and since each institution is a functional segment of the total, ongoing society, the interaction of institutions presents itself as a fruitful area for study. This interaction is a key variable in the process of social change and highlights cultural themes running through the structures of a society.

The central institution of a society and its primary agent of socialization is the family -- which interacts in various degrees with other institutions. Whiting and Child, for example, have described the impact of values learned in the family upon behavior in other social institutions (1953). Kardiner has written of the ways in which the religious institution is shaped by family patterns (1939). Tumin has described the interaction between the family and the economic institution (1956).

In this paper the authors will focus their attention on some aspects of the interaction between two social institutions: 1) the family and 2) the institutionalized recreation form known as the "national sport."

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It is hypothesized that the national sport symbolizes in its structure and function the processes in the modal family that both engender and restrict hostility toward authority, and that it also exemplifies a socially legitimized means for the expression of that hostility.

As Dollard has described it, the socialization process itself engenders hostility toward authority. The demands of socialization, which of course have their focal point in the family, conflict in many instances with the child's own behavioral choices. The child is thus frustrated and desires to move against the restrictive figure but does not do so because he fears punishment. This fear acts as a catalyst, inciting further aggressive feelings toward the frustrating agent. Repression of this aggression is not complete and the individual seeks sources for its legitimized expression (1938)

Hostility toward authority is especially generated in the authoritarian family milieu, or when some characteristics of the parents create for the child an uncertainty of or rejection of his or the parent's familial role. Situations such as this not only arouse keen hostility but are also usually unyieldingly restrictive and harshly punitive of any demonstration of that hostility.

From another view, it is quite possible that hostility toward authority is a lesson of, as well as a reaction to, socialization. That is, the characteristics of the society may be such that a general distrust for or hatred of authority has become part of the cultural value system. This is particularly the case in those societies which have undergone long periods of manipulation and oppression under a tyrannical or exploitative power structure.

Since every society depends, from the family up, on authority to maintain relative consistency of behavior, and since not all the members of the society will take well to that restrictive authority, it follows that the society must provide as a further means of control some outlet for the resultant hostility toward authority -- not only that incited in the family situation or learned in socialization, but also the generalized forms of hostility that are re-awakened and intensified by the demands of interpersonal relations. The provisions for such expression, as well as the degree to which it is controlled, vary from society to society. As Dollard points out, "Each society standardizes its own permissive patterns, and differs from the next in the degree to which hostility may be expressed"(1938).

In the terminology of modern dynamic psychiatry, it can be said that the defense processes which societies employ to channel hostility differ from culture to culture. These defense processes will be differentially manifested not only in the families of different societies, but also, as we hypothesize, in their "national sports," since both are institutions of these societies.

Play, the Game, the Sport

Play has been considered by a number of social scientists to be of major importance in the socialization and personality formation of the individual. Other writers have seen the various forms of play as reflecting the particular traits, values, expectations, and the degree of social control in a given culture. In addition to the foregoing functions, play is a "permissive pattern," a "channel" serving as a legitimized means for the symbolic demonstration of hostility toward authority figures.

There is a hierarchy of play extending from seemingly purposeless, repetitive movements in the crib, through games (with competition, an "ethic" of some sort, elaborate rules and regulations, mutual player expectations, and an ostensible purpose), up to the highest level of complexity, the "organized sport" (with schedules, painstaking record keeping, large audiences, governing bodies supplying officials and dispensing rules, "seasons," recruiting, training, and if professional, the paying of participants). The "national sport" is an organized sport that has been adopted by a nation as its own special "home-owned" variety. When, for example, the "American Way" is alluded to, it implies, among other things, apple pie, hot-dogs, mothers, Disneyland and baseball.

It is hypothesized, then, that the national sport, as the epitome of institutionalized recreation, maximally reflects that aspect of the "social character" of a society which establishes the degree of tolerance for the expression of hostility toward authority. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the national sport replicates, on the playing field or in the arena, the family processes which engender, exacerbate or restrict that hostility, and will manifest the "societal ideal" for its expression.

Baseball is the national sport of the United States of America. Its counterpart in the United States of Mexico is the corrida de toros, the bullfight. It should be mentioned here that the aficionado (dedicated fan) would object to the association of the bullfight with the term "sport", and there are good arguments in support of his opinion. For the sake of parsimony, however, and since the bullfight approaches the criteria established in this paper, it will be considered, for analysis, the equivalent of a national sport. An analysis of baseball and the bullfight, and of the modal family patterns in their respective societies, should reveal, especially with regard to the dynamic of hostility toward authority, a facet of the interaction between the social institutions of family and recreation. In addition to the formation and legitimized expression of hostility, the analysis should reveal, as they appear in

both the family and the sport, some of the characteristic defense mechanisms, values and social relationships shared by members in each of the two societies.

Analysis of Family Patterns

The Mexican family typically is described as a proving ground for the dominance needs of the father. Though the family structure is essentially mother centered, the father compulsively strives to maintain his macho (manly) role and to prove that he has huevos largos (large "eggs"), muy cojones (abundant testicles) or "hair on his chest" by playing the role of the emotionally detached but severely authoritarian head of the household. He overtly disparages the achievements of, violently disapproves of any show of independence in, and physically punishes any demonstration of hostility by his wife or children. Often the children are punished by their father for sins (especially sexual) projected upon them from his own guilt-ridden repertoire. Drunkenness, promiscuity and abandonment, as components of machismo, further compound the overpowering image of father. This pattern of behavior has been detailed in the literature by Lewis (1961), Gillin (1961), Meadow et al. and Diaz-Guerrero (1961).

The question then arises, how do the children, especially the males, handle the hostility that they cannot direct against the mitigated feudalism of such an unyielding socialization figure as the Mexican father? It appears that the son attempts to recoup his identity by emulating the father's example, but he does so in other quarters (dominating his younger sisters and brothers, fighting, being sexually promiscuous). The wife and daughters seem to develop a solidly female "mutual protection society," adopt a passively controlling "martyr" role and wait patiently to seize control whenever the father's dominance falters. Thus exists a climate which fosters over-compensating sons, with ambivalence (passive-aggressive) toward the father, and daughters who, because of hostility toward a punishing father, distrust all men.

A safe but indirect manner for the Mexican male to express hostility against his father, then, seems to be one of "showing the old boy that I am as much, or more, man than he is." This, however, cannot be done in direct confrontation. Rather it is done in spheres away from the father's bailiwick -- away from his watchful eye. As Jesus Sanchez puts it, "to grow up away from your parents helps you to become mature." (Lewis, 1961). The son can't compete with the father directly, so he acts out his hostility guided by his father's examples, but on his own terms in his own battle field.

The family is, of course, a reflection of and the basis for culture. Mexican culture is, as is the family, authoritarian and

hierarchical in structure. Though Mexican citizens have a general distrust of and disregard for the "officials" in government, church and other large-scale organizations, they are most hesitant to directly or overtly criticize them. This passiveness in the face of authority has, as the passiveness to the father, an aggressive counterpart. As a matter of fact, Meadow et al., in depth studies of Mexican psychopathology, cite different degrees of passive-aggressiveness as a central feature of the modal personality of the Mexican. Does this aggressive component demonstrate itself in a socially acceptable manner in a Mexican institution? The premise here is that the bullfight will relieve aspects of the frustration engendering conflict and provide an outlet for the resultant aggression. It would be expected, from observations of the Mexican family and from examination of the symptom-formation in Mexican psychopathology, that the legitimized expression would be of a type allowing "acting out" of hostility. But first, before considering the bullfight itself, let us examine by contrast the situation in the Anglo-American family.

If the Anglo-American father were to attempt to follow the dominance pattern of his Mexican counterpart, he would posthaste be imprisoned, divorced with the condemnation of the court, or at best, socially ostracized.

In the Anglo nuclear family, as in the Anglo culture, the ideological byword is equality. Mother, father, son and daughter are "members of the group" and have a right to be heard, to voice their opinion and to register their vote around the family conference table. Everyone "shares the responsibility" and "pulls his weight" in the "togetherness" of the family.

The Anglo ethic, loaded as it is with the popular meaning of "democracy", encourages an unrealistic muting of authority as it exists in the society. Fathers and mothers are not supposed to be authority figures but "pals," "buddies," "good heads" and "regular guys." They are still, however, expected to be the prime socialization agents of Anglo society, and as such, must impress upon the child an awareness of behavior which is accepted and expected by that society. This cannot be done without the exertion of authority. Socialization makes demands that often are contrary to the child's own preferences. Thus, the frustration-aggression cycle is manifested. But how can the child demonstrate overt hostility to a "pal," a "buddy" or an equal. Furthermore, the vagueness of the parental role in the Anglo family presents the child with a mercurial identification model. Should he be dependent upon or independent of his parents -- and when? Mother preaches togetherness, but usually agrees with the television and movie stereotype of the well-meaning, bumbling father who needs her subtle domination.

Authoritarianism from people who are not supposed to be authoritarian, vagueness of or conflict in role expectations, obscure role models, plus the restrictions of socialization, set the stage for hostility toward authority in the Anglo family. Typically, however, this hostility, and in fact most familial conflict, is intellectualized and abstracted into elaborate displacements and double-bind communications.

The Mexican child seems to have clear reason for hostility, but can't reveal it to the father because he may be beaten. He can't be hostile to the mother because she was a "saint." The Anglo child has difficulty showing overt hostility in his family because, first, he has a hard time tracing the basis for his frustration, and second, he can't be aggressive to two "buddies." But the hostility from socialization and role conflict is still there and needs expression.

The Mexican is forced to be passive to the frustrating agent, but along with this passiveness rides an aggressive component. If the Mexican has been shaped into a passive-aggressive, then it seems feasible to posit as a central feature of the Anglo modal personality the defense mechanism of intellectualization. The Anglo child learns from his parents to intellectualize conflict, to abstract hostility, to disengage it from painful affect, and to deal with it in a symbolic, ritualistic fashion. Whereas the Mexican acts out his hostility, the Anglo rationalizes it and elaborately disguises it with verbal repartee. Manual Sanchez observed "life in the United State is too abstract, too mechanical. The people are like precision machines" (Lewis, 1961).

As does the Mexican family in the Mexican culture, the Anglo family reflects and maintains the Anglo culture. Anglo society has been characterized by a plethora of writers as being abstract, universalistic, materialistic, impersonal, unemotional and bureaucratic. One would expect, then, the ideal legitimized outlets for hostility to be similarly complex, elaborately diffuse, and intellectualized, impersonalized and de-affectuated after a bureaucratic fashion. The national sport of the United States, baseball, we have hypothesized, should fully reflect this pattern.

The Bullfight

Aficionados who are of a mind to describe the essence of the bullfight do so in terms that parallel the corrida with a Greek drama. Robinson writes that the theme of the bullfight lies "somewhere between the themes of fate and death" (1964). Allen proclaims the bullfight to be "the last drama of our times that has death as an immediate object" (1953). In The Brave Bulls, two of Lea's Mexican characters discuss the fiesta brava as follows:

"...It is a form of drama as certainly as the works of Sophocles. But what a difference between the happenings on a stage or in a poem, and the happening in a plaza!"

"...The festival of bulls is the only art form in which violence, bloodshed, and death are palpable and unfeigned. It is the only art in which the artist deals actual death and risks actual death that gives the art its particular power...." (Lea, 1949).

Who, then, do the principals in this drama represent? Who is killing, and who is being killed? We have hypothesized that the events in the bullfight will provide a socially legitimized symbolic vehicle for the aggression toward authority which has been developed mainly in and by the Mexican family situation.

Since the reader may be unfamiliar with the structure of the bullfight, we shall undertake here a brief description before proceeding to the analysis.

Prior to the appearance of any of the principals in the corrida, the alguacil, a mounted bailiff, rides across the bull ring and, with a bow and a flourish, renders his respect to the Presidente (a national, state or local official), who is in charge of the conduct of the bullfight. The alguacil will thereafter be the courier for the Presidente, and will transmit orders from him to the principals in the corrida. Thus is the hierarchal nature of Mexican society represented in the bullfight. No major shift in action, no new sequence is attempted without first gaining the nod of the Presidente. It is he who will pass final judgment upon the performance of the matador. He, and only he can decide that the bull shall live (on rare occasions), or die. In essence he has the power of life and death. It is interesting to note that, though disapproval in the highly emotional framework of the corrida may incite the crowd eloquently and thoroughly to curse and insult the matador, his assistants, his mother, father, compadres, lovers, children and future children, there is seldom a harsh word directed toward the sacrosanct Presidente. This respect remains, ironically, while symbolically authority is about to be murdered in the ring!

Upon receiving the nod from the Presidente, the alguacil rides out of the ring to lead back the paseo, or parade, which consists of in splendid order the matadors, their banderilleros (assistants), the picadors, the ring attendants and the harnessed team whose task it will be to remove the dead bull from the ring. The matadors halt directly beneath the Presidente and bow their respect. Following

this, all the principals, usually with the exception of a banderillero, leave the ring. The Presidente gives permission for the bull to be released, and the assistant receives the bull.

The bullfight itself consists of three major parts (Los Tres Tercios de la Lidia). In the first, the banderilleros work the bull with the cape, thus allowing the matador to observe the toro's idiosyncracies (direction of hook, favored eye and straightness of charge). Then the picadors pic the bull, this to demonstrate the bull's courage (by his charge to the horse) and to lower his head. Following this, the ring is cleared -- the bull remains, having "conquered," for a moment, all his antagonists. The banderilleros (sometimes the matador), in the second major part, place the banderillas (barbed sticks), these to correct for the bull's tendency to hook in one or the other direction. The third part consists of brindis, or formal dedication of the bull to the Presidente (then to anyone else in the crowd the matador chooses), the work with the muleta (small red cloth), and, finally, the sword.

Since there are two bulls for each matador, and two or three matadors in each bullfight, these three segments are repeated from four to six times in an afternoon.

Such is the bare structure of the bullfight. This tells nothing of the key to, the vitality of, the drama in the ring, the feeling in the crowd or the symbolic expression of hostility.

Perhaps a discussion of this can best be introduced by quoting the matador protagonist in Ramsey's Fiesta as he describes, when facing the bull, "a fear that never quite left him, and that encompassed others too indefinite for him to understand or even name, a fear of authority, of the powerful, the patron. . ." (Ramsey, 1955) of the father¹ Freedom from this authority is granted, he contends, in those rare moments when fear is combated and overcome.

Characteristically, the Mexican son profoundly fears his father. Manuel Sanchez testifies that in order to become a man, the individual must escape his father. Yet it was not until he, himself, was twenty-nine years old that he smoked in his father's presence. At that time, Manuel, though fearful, felt himself to be acting most bravely by showing his father that he was a man -- at twenty-nine years of age!

This need for "manhood" (courage, domination, sexual prowess) which we have mentioned many times above is crucial enough in the Mexican culture to claim a syndrome entity all its own -- the machismo

Macho connotes maleness -- demonstrable and blatant maleness. The individual who is macho is muy hombre (much man), abundantly endowed with sexual organs, and fears nothing. The most grave and threatening insult to the Mexican male is one that challenges his masculinity.

What more natural pre-occupation could one expect from a son who has been subject to an emasculating father -- to a father whose own fear of male competition has led him to use his physical size to dominate his son? We have mentioned that one way the son can compensate for his subordinate role is to emulate his father in another sphere, and later in his own home with his own wife and children. But through the bullfight another compensation is offered. As a spectator (or better, a principal) he can compensate symbolically, uninhibitedly, with all the hate, insult, and invective that he can muster. What clearer representative of the father than the bull with his flagrant masculinity, awesome power and potential to maim and kill? What clearer representative of the son than the delicate, almost fragile, matador whose protection obviously cannot be strength but must be courage? See how the bull charges the banderilleros! See how he hurls himself against the pic and the horse! How can the matador stand up to the bull? How can the son stand up to the father? Aha! Toro! Aha!

The matador provides the spectator with an amazingly flexible psychological figure. He can identify with the matador's courage, with his expertise, with his kill, and yet he can project upon the matador, especially in a bad performance, accusations of cowardice and powerlessness he has experienced himself in the constantly losing battle with his father. It is interesting that many bullfighters take nicknames with diminutive denotations -- Joselito, Armillita Chico, Amoros Chico, Gallito, Machaquito, etc. Similarly, well over three hundred matadors whose names have been entered in the records have somewhere in their nickname the word nino (child) -- El Nino de la Palma, etc. Thus is emphasized their smallness, their fragility vis-a-vis the bull. Thus is emphasized symbolically the helplessness of the child vis-a-vis the father. Strength is not nearly so valued an attribute of the matador as is demonstrable courage. The great matadors are not remembered for their muscle but for their macho. Belmonte was sickly, Maera had wrists so fragile that he often dislocated them in a faena (series of passes), Manolete was painfully thin. In fact, size and strength may be a disadvantage. Joselito, a tall, athletic and graceful man, often complained that he had to take more chances with the bull than the physically struggling Belmonte in order to make his faenas appear as difficult. When asked how he developed strength for the corrida, Gallo is said to have replied, "I smoke Havana cigars," adding that one cannot possibly match the

bull for strength, but he can for courage. The matador must, then, appear finite when facing the awesome power of the bull. A sign of fear is acceptable, even desirable, if the faena is good. Thus is highlighted the fact that the matador has in spite of his fears faced, dominated and killed the bull. A too calm, too non-chalant, too perfect matador, without the emotion of fear (and pride in controlling that fear), who cannot convey to the crowd that his is in fact a struggle in which he has faced, averred and administered death to an over-powering force, may be viewed as a matador without salsa -- without "sauce." The fact of the matter is that the Mexican father is threatening, does physically hurt and does strike fear in the heart of his sons. To dominate and destroy him would be a remarkable feat. If the bullfight is to provide symbolically a resolution of this one-sided affair then it must be representative of its acts, events and especially of its emotions.

We have mentioned earlier that the passive role forced upon the Mexican child brings with it an aggressive component -- a dynamic seen again and again in the Mexican personality structure. This interaction is beautifully manifested in the three commandments for the matador's conduct in the bullfight -- Parar! Templar! Mandar! (Keep the feet quiet! Move the cape and muleta slowly! Dominate and control the bull!) The central feature is, in the modern bullfight, the domination of the bull. But domination is expressed in the bonita corrida with a studied parsimony of movement, with a deliberately slow tempo. Boyd writes that "the matador gains mastery by his cunning awareness of the power of the absence of movement." (1956). The most valued placing of the banderillas and the most honored kill both consist of the matador performing these tasks while passively standing his ground and receiving the charge of the bull. The matador's knees may knock together with fright, and the crowd will understand -- as long as he continues to parar.

Kluckhohn sees this passive element in another Mexican institution, religion. She describes the Mexican's dependence upon the Saints and submissive and accepting attitude toward the supernatural (1961). Since the basic cultural values run through all of a society's institutions, it is not surprising to find this same passivity modifying the legitimized expression of hostility toward authority in the bullfight.

The matador demands submissive behavior from his own assistants. Traditionally, the latter have not been allowed to eat at the same table with the matador, must obey his orders immediately and without question and, regardless of the amount of the matador's income, are paid very poorly. Hemingway writes "... a matador feels that the less he pays his subordinates the more man he is and in the

same way the nearer he can bring his subordinates to slaves the more man he feels he is." Thus, out of the ring as well as in, the matador perpetuates the machismo. This is also observed in the sexual exploits of matadors, and highlighted especially by their blatant disregard for and high incidence of syphilis. "You cannot expect," Hemingway says, "a matador who has triumphed in the afternoon by taking chances not to take them in the night" (1945).

Often the matador will single out a woman in the crowd and dedicate the kill to her, expecting, of course, some token of appreciation in return. One of the authors witnessed a matador leaving the Plaza de Toros after a successful corrida survey a bevy of adoring females, make his selection with a toss of the head and beckoning gesture with his blood-stained arm, and walk off hand-in-hand with the amazed and grateful girl to her car.

It would seem from the matador's point of view that the crowd is symbolically female. The matador (son) looks for approval to the crowd (mother) when he demonstrates his domination, his superiority over, the bull (father). The crowd continually calls on the matador to work closer to the bull. It demands that he take chances and promises in return to give him manifestations of approval. In his study of Mexican psychopathology, Meadow has observed that the Mexican mother subtly encourages the son to compete with the father, thus providing her an added element of control. It is not surprising, then, to see this dynamic represented in the corrida. The crowd (mother) calls for the matador (son) to challenge, to dominate, the bull (father), and offers love as a reward. Matadors who have been gored when responding to the crowd's urges have been reported to turn to the crowd, blaming it, shouting, for example, "See what you have done to me! See what your demands have done!" It may well be that the females in the crowd would enjoy seeing both the matador and the bull destroyed, thus expressing the generalized hostility that Mexican women have toward men. For the Mexican female, the corrida may be a legitimized way of acting out aggression towards dominating husbands, fathers and lovers.

A famous breeder of toros writes that "... certain of their (the fighting bulls) number will stay home to take care of the cows and carry on the breed with those formidable sacs that swing between their legs. But not our fighters to the death. They are virgins. It is a curious thing, our festival." (Lea, 1949). The bull has not experienced mating, and never will, because the matador will kill him. Perhaps the son will have dominated and killed that symbolic father before he can mate with the mother (the matador prays before each fight to the Virgin Mother).

In capeas, or informal street bullfights, the bull may be slaughtered by many people (if the town can afford the loss) and often the testicles will be cut off, roasted, and devoured. At one time it was customary in the corrida to remove the testicles (criadillas) of the first killed bull of the afternoon and serve them as a prepared meal to the Presidente during the killing of the fifth bull. Thus with one symbolic move were expressed and satisfied two needs -- to dominate and render forever impotent the father and to incorporate the "source" of his strength. In the same vein, small children are often seen flooding the ring after the last kill, dipping their fingers in the fallen bull's blood and licking their fingers of this fluid of courage. If the matador has performed well and is acclaimed by the crowd the Presidente may award him the bull's ear, two ears, or two ears and a tail, in that ascending order of honor.

Thus through the corrida does the Mexican spectator, identifying with the matador and re-enacting the family situation, not only symbolically dominate and destroy the unyielding and hated authority figure, but he captures some of that figure's awesome power.

The bullfight itself has undergone considerable change. What exists now, as "modern bullfighting," began with Belmonte in the early 1930's, and according to the aficionado, is considerably different from its earlier stages. Hemingway writes,

"As the corrida has developed and decayed, there has been less emphasis on the form of the killing, which was once the whole thing, and more on the cape work, the placing of the banderillas, and the work with the muleta. The cape, the banderillas, and the muleta have all become ends in themselves rather than means to an end."

"A bullfighter is now judged, and paid much more on the basis of his ability to pass the bull quietly and closely with the cape than on his ability as a swordsman. The increasing importance and demand for the style of cape work and work with the muleta, that was invented or perfected by Juan Belmonte, the expectation and demand that each matador pass the bull, giving a complete performance with cape, in the quites, and the pardoning of deficiency in killing of a matador who is an artist with the cape and muleta, are the main changes in modern bullfighting" (Hemingway, 1945).

Pre-Belmonte, then, the "kill" was the focal point of the bullfight. The matador who could kill with lust and enjoyment was admired and loved. The earlier phases of the corrida were to

demonstrate the bull's courage and power and to prepare him for the kill. The essence of the bullfight was the final sword thrust, the actual encounter between man and bull where for an interminable moment they became one figure and was called the "Moment of Truth." Now, to accommodate the emphasis on the cape and muleta work, the bulls are smaller and killing is barely a "third of the fight" and anticlimactic to the cloth work (Hemingway, 1945). As Boyd points out, the "Moment of Truth" is now at the highlight of domination with the cape and muleta, not at the kill (1956). Hemingway agrees, writing that the emphasis in the modern corrida is upon dominance rather than killing and that this has gone hand-in-glove with the padding of the horses, the smaller bulls and the changing of the picador's function for lowering the bull's head and showing his courage to weakening him (Hemingway, 1945). There are, say the older aficionados, no longer matadors, but now only toreadors (Hemingway, 1945).

Mexico has been gradually evolving from the feudal social structure and caste system imposed by the Conquistadors toward urbanization and industrialization. The reference group emulated in this transition is, of course, the "advanced" Western world, especially the United States. The trend toward urbanization brings with it more emotionally restrictive patterns of socialization and more abstract channels for the expression of hostility. The position of father in the Mexican family has, with urbanization, also begun to shift toward the "advanced" Western model. It might be said that as the father figure becomes less fearsome, less overpowering, there is less need to "kill" him symbolically -- domination alone is an adequate expression of hostility. Western Europeans and Anglo-Americans are usually "shocked," for example, by the "brutality" of the bullfight and tend to dub cultures of which it is a part as "primitive." The more urbanized cultures do not, however, deny the need for legitimized expression of hostility. Kemp, a leading opponent of the bullfight, writes: "One of the functions of civilization is to direct the expression of one's desires by early training and social pressures so that, ideally, we will receive the minimum harm and maximum value from that expression" (1954). He admits to the need for satisfaction of the appetite for violence in all members of society but thinks that they must be satisfied less grossly than in the bullfight.

The general disapproval of Western Europe and the United States concerning the "barbarism" of the bullfight certainly must have had considerable influence on its conduct. (The padding of the horses was instigated by the English-born wife of a King of Spain, following promptings from her own country.) Since the institutions of a society reflect its culture, since the culture is influenced by

the demands of other more powerful societies, and since urbanization itself accounts in part for change in cultural patterns, we would expect to see corresponding changes in all of the subject society's institutions, including the bullfight. Thus is seen the shift in emphasis from the "primitive" killing of the bull to the more abstract, more aesthetic, and certainly more "acceptable" domination with the cape and muleta. Thus is seen the complete elimination of the kill in Portugal and Switzerland, and in Spain and Mexico, its secondary, almost apologetic status.

Urbanization not only demands more intellectualized dealing with hostility but also brings with it a need for task specialization. This too is reflected in the modern corrida. The well rounded "generalist" matador is rare. Most are specialists -- cape men, muleta men, and a few who are known for their work with the banderillas.

The shift in emphasis in the bullfight (some say, the emasculation of the bullfight) has not affected the average American spectator's reaction of being revolted, disgusted, even sickened by the corrida. In sounding the reactions of some American college students to their first (and usually last) attendance at a bullfight, the authors have noted the recurring theme: "It's too much," "too blatant," "overpowering." Robinson writes "the bullfight allows the American, protected from reality all his life by the palliation of modern American society, to face up to the real thing" (1964). And the "real thing" is "too much."

No doubt the highly "civilized" Anglo-American is threatened by such a direct acting out of hostility and violence as is manifest in the bullfight. But in addition to this he is very likely frightened by such a direct confrontation with death. Americans tend to deny death, even avoiding it in their speech (he "passed away," was "laid to rest," etc.). In Mexico, according to Robinson, "the bullfight spectacle is only one of the forms through which Mexicans make their obeisance to death" (1964). Brenner noted that concern for death is "an organic part of Mexican thought" (1929). The possibility of early or violent death is much greater for the average Mexican than for the average Anglo. To see death averted by the matador is pleasing to the Mexican, giving him some feeling of control over an event that he witnesses, not atypically, taking place in the streets. To the American the drama is a grim reminder of the inevitability of an event he seldom sees and chooses to deny. Hemingway writes, "We, in games, are not fascinated by death, its nearness and avoidance. We are fascinated by victory and we replace the avoidance of death by the avoidance of defeat" (1945). The symbolic "victory" over another team is certainly at a higher level of emotional abstraction than the symbolism of the domination of and bloody killing of a bull.

Anglo-Americans, the authors have observed, tend to "root" for the bull during a corrida. The picadors are soundly hooted (Mexicans only demonstrate disapproval if the bull is "ruined") and a tremendous barrage of invective pummels the matador if it takes him more than one sword to make a kill (even if all his swords are perfectly "over the horns"). This may be the result of the proclivity of the American to identify with the under-dog, or the revulsion at seeing an animal (who, in the American ethic, is also a "buddy") killed. This seemingly irrational preference to see the man rather than the bull killed may also be influenced by a degree of prejudice in the ethnocentric Anglo toward the Mexican matador. It may also be that the corrida does not present to the Anglo a perception of two "evenly matched" antagonists. The opponents are not "equal" -- few matadors are killed, but the bull rarely lives. This may run counter to the "fair play" ethic of the Anglo.

If the bullfight's overt display of hostility with its over-riding components of inevitable death, animal suffering and inequality, is not acceptable as a suitable means for the expression of aggression to the Anglo, what does he prefer? As mentioned earlier, the Anglo, too, is subject to socialization, and he, too, experiences conflict situations which engender hostility toward parents and parent surrogates. How, then, as reflected in the Anglo national sport of baseball, is the expression of hostility toward authority legitimized?

Baseball

It was presented above that the Anglo child is prevented from directly manifesting hostility toward parents by their representation as "good guys" and "pals." Verbal aggression, elaborately intellectualized, is usually the most overt form of hostility allowed to the child. Whereas the Mexican seems painfully aware of conflict, hates his father and acts out his hostility (displaces, projects), the Anglo appears hopelessly ambivalent toward the vague "buddy" father and represses the fact that conflict exists. A good part of his psychic life is spent sustaining this repression compulsively and obsessively. In general, the legitimized means of expressing hostility are just as subtle as is the subtlety of the hostility generating conflict situation -- this mutedness is manifest as we shall see in the national sport.

The matador's servile bow to the Presidente is an obvious and undisguised move of deference. In the prelude to a baseball game, however, the players line up, facing the flag, and stand quietly during the playing of the National Anthem. Tribute to authority here certainly is less direct than in the bull ring. A flag is a considerably more abstract and less threatening symbol than the pompous gentlemen in

the privileged box. The government official who, as Presidente, attends the corrida, controls its conduct and can directly interfere in the performance. Government officials who attend baseball games are in no way able to interfere with play -- at most, they throw in the first ball.

While the observer need only take a quick glance at the "barbaric" corrida to see a dramatically overt display of violence and aggression, he is hard pressed, after considerable observation, to see any marked degree of hostility in the structure of the "good clean sport" of baseball. He looks out over the field and sees two teams (composed of an equal number of similarly unformed men), patiently and systematically taking an equal number of turns (innings) in the attempt to score. The field is elaborately chalked, demarcating those areas of "fair" from "foul" play, and an elaborate system of rules dictates when a player can get a "hit," take or advance a base, score a run, be "safe" or "out." The observer becomes aware of the game's dramatic emphasis on numbers (the most abstract of symbols)-- the scoreboard, the batting averages, the earned-run averages, the team win percentages, and even the players, who are granted relative impersonality by the numbers on their backs.

Unlike the matador, who constantly communicates with the crowd, the baseball players are seen to remain distinctly aloof from them. The player's allegiance is to the team, and he who performs ostentatiously for the crowd is ostracized as a "grandstander." Contrast, for example, the baseball player's downcast eye and turf-kicking toe after an outstanding move with the matador's haughty glance and proud posture following a good series of passes. Contrast the convertible or television set given ritualistically by the crowd to the ball player on "his day" with the immediate, spontaneous and extremely emotional reaction of the crowd following an appreciated corrida -- they clamor for the Presidente to give him awards, throw him wine flasks, sombreros and often rush into the ring to carry him about on their shoulders. It might be said that in baseball, the crowd is expected to observe, in a relatively detached way, the spectacle being performed for them on the field. At the bullfight, however, the crowd is expected to be one with the matador, to participate, fully, in the emotions of the fight.

There is, by contrast to the corrida, a noticeable lack of heterosexuality in the game of baseball. While the matador often dedicates his bull or tosses an ear to a senorita, the baseball player, on the field anyway, limits his interaction to male teammates, chattering to them, shaking their hands in success, slapping their buttocks in encouragement, and mobbing and hugging them for superlative feats of play.

There is, of course, competition taking place in the game-- but nothing that can parallel the direct, individual confrontation of the matador with the bull. In baseball, two "teams" meet and the more evenly matched they are, the better the "contest" is. There are fans for both sides, each rooting for his team, hoping that it will win the "contest." After the game is over there will be a winner and a "good loser." It is interesting that the participants in baseball are called "players." The matador is not "playing" at the corrida -- it is a fight. The aggressive component that one would expect in competition is muted by the rules governing the conduct of play and by the expectations of the crowd. There are occasional emotional outbreaks between rival players, between players and umpires and between managers and umpires, but these "rhubarbs" are ephemeral and seem somehow distant and artificial. The shouts and jeers of the crowd, with an occasional "murder the bum," lack the emotional punch and especially the personal reference of the venomous insults hurled by the displeased Mexican aficionado.

Some psychoanalytically oriented behavioral scientists have written vividly of the symbolic castration represented in the baseball games. Stokes, for example, calls baseball "a manifest exercise in phallic deftness" (1956). Petty sees the contest as a safe re-creation of the battle between father and son for the sexual favors of the mother (1963).

However, if hostility generated in a father-son competition is manifested here, how safe, how muted, is its expression. Its release is legitimized only under the restrictions of elaborate rules, omnipresent umpires, and with the insistence that each team systematically take turns playing one role or the other. It is diffused throughout a "team," no one man taking full responsibility and is submerged in a morass of batting and pitching rituals and superstitions that are unsurpassed by the most extreme of religion and the military. Batters will use only certain bats, stand a certain way, pound home plate a certain number of times, spit, rub dust, rub resin (or all three) on their hands, pull their clothing into a certain position before batting, wear lucky numbers, lucky charms, lucky hats, lucky sox or use a lucky bat. Many pitchers have elaborate series of movements before delivering the ball -- touch cap, rub ball, grab resin bag, scuff dirt, adjust glove, re-touch hat, re-rub ball.... Professional pitcher Lew Burdette has taken as long as a full minute to complete a series of irrelevant gestures, ticks, clutches, and tugs before throwing the ball. Similarly, an observer would be hard pressed to find a baseball player who doesn't ritualistically chew gum.

Furthermore, the conduct of the game, and therefore any expression of hostility, is closely scrutinized by at least three umpires.

Interestingly enough, the word umpire is derived from the Latin, meaning not equal. Thus, on a playing field where equality is a central ethic, the umpires are unique. They are the only personnel on the field who even during inning intermissions cannot sit down or relax. Like the "super ego" theirs is an unrelenting vigilance. Their word is law, and disrespect for them can bring an ousting from the game. But how different is the player-umpire relationship from that of the matador-Presidente. The Presidente is treated with deference, and the interaction between authority and matador is seen to be personal and direct. As in the Mexican society at large, the authority figure, though he may be hated, is shown the utmost respect. Mexican patients have described their fathers as drunkards, brutes, etc., but always add that they "respect" them. Tucson, Arizona school teachers often report that the behavior of the Mexican-American students vis-a-vis the teacher is exemplary, though their dropout and absentee records indicate a low value for education.

The umpire on the other hand, is an impersonal figure. How many "fans" know the names of big league umpires? So abstract is the black-suited authority that "kill the umpire" can be vociferously and safely shouted. How nonthreatening is the typical reaction of the umpire to the complaints, admonishments, and verbal aggressions of the players and managers -- he turns his back and slowly walks away. Authority is challenged -- and with impunity! There is, however, a carefully defined limit to the amount of abuse the umpire is expected to endure. Physical violence and certain profanities bring not only a removal from the game but severe fines to the offender. Since there are fixed fines for specific obscenities, angry players will often turn to the umpire and, escaping the fine by ascending a rung on the abstraction ladder, declare, "You're that five hundred dollar word!"

Another phenomenon, certainly cultural in nature, is the ritual hypochondriasis of baseball players. Matadors traditionally disregard wounds (the macho does not fear, avoid or show disability because of pain) and have even fought with assistants who tried to carry them out of the ring after a serious goring. Baseball players leave the field for a simple pulled muscle. Yards of tape, gallons of ointment, heat treatments, vitamin pills, "isometrics," "training rules," arm warmers, whirlpool baths and rub-downs pamper the ball player. Pitchers are carefully protected from the wind, rain, and cold "dug-out" seats, and can ask to be relieved if they are feeling tired.

As the conduct of the bullfight has changed with the increasing urbanization in Mexico, so also has the conduct of baseball changed with the increasing bureaucratization in the United States. In the

early 20th Century, fines for insulting (or even striking) the umpire were non-existent. The crowd very often displayed displeasures by throwing bottles and cushions at specific individuals in the field. In general, the level of expression of hostility was more direct and involved somewhat more acting out. The farm club system, its scouting ties with organized collegiate athletics and the bureaucratic "front office" were far less expansive. Rules and regulations were less restricting, and the tobacco chewing, swearing, sweating player was typical as contrasted with the "gentleman players" who grace our fields and television commercials today. Nine innings then took about two-thirds the time they do now, the ball was "dead" and the number of players on the team's roster was smaller. There were fewer substitutes, and pitchers as a rule stayed in for the entire game.

In the present situation even the abstract "team" concept has been made obsolete by increased bureaucratization. The authors witnessed members of the winning (1963) Los Angeles Dodgers speaking proudly of the "Dodger Organization," and the good job the "front office" had done.

In a television interview, Bill Veeck, an ex-professional manager, expressed dismay with the unnecessary "dragging out" of the game by prolonged warm-up pitches, drawn-out sessions of verbal haranguing, "long" walks to the dugout and summit meetings of the pitcher, catcher and manager. He complained about the time-wasting rituals of motion indulged in by both pitcher and batter. Veeck thus testifies to the increasing obsessive quality in the game, as its emphasis shifts to more and more diffuse, indirect and disguised means for expressing hostility.

One wonders, in fact, if the restrictions in baseball are too many, if the fans aren't growing dissatisfied. The increasing public attendance at professional football games, reaching a point where some sports analysts predict that it will replace baseball as the National sport, may be an indication of the demand for a less abstract expression of hostility in spectator sports. Nevertheless, from the point of view of social control, baseball masterfully mutes aggression behind its reciprocity, rules, records and rituals. It duplicates the vagueness and intellectualization of the conflict situation in the American family and provides a markedly abstract and controlled expression of hostility toward authority. Macoby, et al., write that baseball represents the ideal of American society (1964). It remains to be seen whether or not this ideal can, in the face of a need for a clearer expression of hostility, remain intact.

SUMMARY

The passive-aggressive component of the Mexican modal personality can be traced to the dominant and harshly punitive role of the father and to the general authoritarian nature of the Mexican culture. This passive-aggressiveness is perpetuated in the macho pattern of the Mexican male and in the "martyr" pattern of the Mexican female. Any acting out of the resultant hostility to authority must be carried out in spheres safely distant from that authority's immediate control.

The bullfight is seen to depict, symbolically, the power of the father, the subtle demands of the mother and the fear of the child. Unlike the family situation, the awesome authority does not prevail, but rather is dominated and destroyed through the courage and daring of the matador. He, however, acting for the spectator, must accomplish this hostile act in a framework of "respect" for authority, and with a studied passiveness in and control of movement.

By contrast, the "intellectualization" component of the Anglo modal personality can be traced to the superficial ethic of "equality" among family members and to the general intellectualized nature of highly urbanized societies. The attempt to mute authority by a pseudo-philosophy of togetherness, when authority is in fact assumed by the father, the mother and by the society, engenders a vagueness in role definitions, confusion in behavioral expectations and an intellectualization of the resultant conflict. Hostility toward this intangible yet frustrating authority figure is expressed by the individual in a manner as abstract and as ritualized as its causative factors.

The national sport of baseball is set in a framework of equality. Hostility toward authority takes the symbolic form of competition and desire to win, and is smothered under a covering of rules, regulations and player rituals. Guided by the authority of umpires (who are sufficiently impersonal to be challenged with relative impunity), and protected in the safety of numbers as a member of a team, the players systematically alternate roles, allowing each to have an equal opportunity to "be aggressive."

Spectators of the baseball game view two similarly uniformed teams consisting of the same number of players vying for an abstract "victory." The spectators' emotional participation in the game is distant and safe -- "murder the bum" or "kill the umpire" does not have enough of a personal referent to arouse guilt or anxiety. They can take sides in occasional and severely regulated conflicts on the

field, because such conflicts have "meaning" only in the game, and are forgotten when the game is over.

Since 1920, the bullfight has gradually been modified to accentuate domination rather than the kill. Paralleling this, the position of the father in the Mexican family has, with gradual urbanization, come more closely in line with that of the "advanced" Western model. He is less threatening, less fearsome, and can be dominated to a degree sufficient to reduce the importance of his symbolic destruction.

Baseball, since 1920, has similarly undergone significant changes. With the increasing bureaucratization of Anglo society, and with the increasing emphasis upon "equality" and impersonality in the family have come the more complex bureaucratization and the more elaborate ritualization of baseball.

The family, and the institutionalized recreation form known as the national sport, mutually reflect, as they appear in Mexico, the cultural centrality of death, dominance, "personal" relationships, respect for and fear and hatred of authority and the defense systems of the passive-aggressive character structure.

In the Anglo culture, these two institutions mutually reflect the cultural importance of equality, impersonality, and the defense mechanism of intellectualization.

Both national sports provide a socially acceptable channel for the expression of hostility toward authority. This channel is modified by other cultural values and expectations, and is framed in an activity which duplicates, symbolically, aspects of the hostility generating familial situation.

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Children's Play as an Indicator of Cross-Cultural and Intra-Cultural Differences

by

May V. Seagoe

Children's play is significant both as a developmental manifestation and as an agent of cultural transmission. Cross-cultural studies of children's play should therefore lead to clarification of the patterns that are common, or related to the maturational process, and those significantly different, or the result of differential cultural impact.

Cross-cultural studies of child behavior are subject to a number of criticisms. They often tend to be descriptive of individual cultures, rather than comparing for common elements. They are usually based on primitive cultures rather than the more complex ones where understanding is currently needed. Categories used are often insufficiently generalized to be useful, and seldom continuous enough to show progressions. They seldom attempt statistical treatment of results, perhaps because of the assumption of lack of comparability. When statistical treatment is used, techniques chosen (such as complex tables of coefficients of association) are highly subjective in interpretation (Whiting, 1954).

This article attempts to provide a method of studying children's play in its cross-cultural and intra-cultural manifestations

ASSUMPTIONS AND METHOD

The assumption was that play for children is fundamentally spontaneous activity with a "fun" element. At any age level its manifestations represent his degree of physical, mental and emotional-social maturity, age differences will be similar in all cultures. The culture colors play activities through the patterns for imitation, the attitudes of the persons with whom the child comes in contact, and social organizations (such as the school) which consciously foster certain types of play.

Two hypotheses were tested: (1) that children's play will show a developmental sequence independent of the culture and (2) that differences between sexes and between rural-urban groups reflect cross-cultural rather than developmental differences

Since the common element in play is its maturational base, the rationale for categorizing play should reflect developmental sequence. Renfoe (1952) and Murakami (1960) have developed descriptive

versions of the sequence. Here the concept of emotional-social development of Sullivan (1940) is used to modify and to give continuity to those categories. The sequence of play development then becomes:

1. Adult-oriented play: defined as play in which the child imitates or is directed by an adult. It represents a stage of interpersonal development in which the child is still dependent on adults for his activities. It includes Murakami's "Dramatic Play" and "Circle Games."

2. Informal individual play: defined as play in which social contact is not essential. It represents a stage of interpersonal development in which the child has differentiated his play from the activity of adults, but has not learned to accept demands of other persons or of formal game rules. It is Murakami's "individual activities," "collecting" and "passive participation."

3. Informal social play: defined as play requiring contact with one or more others but without formal organization. It represents the differentiated individual adapting his own behavior. It is Murakami's "group activities."

4. Individual-competitive games: defined as play requiring contact with one or more other persons under formal rules with stress on the individual's winning. It represents individualistic social contact under accepted formal organization. It is Murakami's "individual competitive games" and "games of intellect."

5. Team games: defined as play requiring cooperative effort under formal organization with individual effort subordinated to the team's winning. It represents subordination of self to group welfare and it is Murakami's "team competitive games."

The data consisted of the basic tables of Murakami's (1960) re-tallied for the revised categories. They are derived on controlled interviews with 240 children representing equally Americans and Japanese and for each first and sixth grades, boys and girls, rural and urban. Each child gave three answers to each of four questions regarding what he played most at school, what he played most at home, what play he liked most, and what play he disliked most. All responses were then categorized by age, sex and rural-urban background, percents computed and the "t" test applied to all comparisons.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tables I, II, and III present cross-cultural comparisons (Japanese and American) and intra-cultural comparisons (age, sex,

rural-urban) in an effort to determine the origins of specific differences found. Significant cross-cultural differences are indicated by c or cc and intra-cultural by i or ii besides the larger percent in each comparison.

Age differences are apparent in Table I. They are significant at the five or one percent level for the combined Japanese and American groups in three of the five categories used. They are more pronounced within the American group than within the Japanese group. They do not fully account for all differences in play, however. The emphasis on informal social play in Japan and on team games in America appears consistently

Methodologically, the tendency for the same result to appear for all four questions asked reinforces the validity of the findings. Frequency of play at home and at school, tendency to like or to dislike are all directly associated.

TABLE I

		Age Differences in Play								Percent Total
Play Category	Question	Japanese		Americans		All		All		
		1st	6th	1st	6th	1st	6th	Japan- ese	Ameri- cans	
Adult-- oriented play	School	0	0	16ci	0	8i	0	0	8c	4
	Home	21	5	28i	9	25ii	7	13	19	16
	Liked	21	11	23i	5	22i	8	16	14	15
	Disliked	14	5	20	27c	17	16	9	23c	16
	All	14	5	23	10	18	8	9	16	13
Informal individu- al play	School	27	12	37ii	2	32ii	7	20	19	20
	Home	25	23	42i	18	34	20	24	30	27
	Liked	20	13	32	13	26	13	16	23	19
	Disliked	20	11	19	8	19	10	15	13	14
	All	23	15	33i	9	28i	12	19	21	20
Informal social play	School	63cc	46	24	33	44	39	54cc	28	41
	Home	48cc	44	13	24	31	34	46cc	19	32
	Liked	50cc	36	18	17	34	26	43cc	18	30
	Disliked	51cc	59cc	20	23	36	41	55cc	21	39
	All	53cc	46	19	24	36	35	50cc	22	36
Individual competi- tive games	School	6	14	1	2	3	8	10	2	6
	Home	4	11	2	5	3	8	8	3	6
	Liked	3	11	8	6	6	8	7	7	7
	Disliked	7	13	11	9	9	11	10	10	10
	All	5	12	5	6	5	9	9	5	7
Team games	School	3	29ii	22c	66ccii	12	48ii	16	44cc	30
	Home	2	17i	13	46cii	8	31ii	10	29cc	20
	Liked	5	29ii	17	62ccii	11	45ii	17	40cc	28
	Disliked	8	13	29c	30	19	21	11	30cc	20
	All	5	22i	20	51ccii	13	36ii	13	36cc	24
N		30	30	30	30	60	60	60	60	120

c Cross-cultural difference significant at five percent level, cc at one percent level

i Intra-cultural difference significant at five percent level, ii at one percent level

Sex differences within each culture and for combined cultures are presented in Table II. Differences were found between boys and girls within the American culture in first and last categories, but in none of the categories for the Japanese. When the two cultures are combined all sex differences disappear, and only the cross-cultural difference remains. It is interesting that patterns for Japanese boys and American girls occupy the central positions, and that Japanese girls and American boys show the greatest deviation.

TABLE II
Sex Differences in Play

Play Category	Question	Japanese		Americans		All		All		Percent Total
		B	G	B	G	B	G	Japanese	Americans	
Adult--oriented play	School	0	0	5	12c	2	6	0	8c	4
	Home	11	15	9	28 _i	10	22	13	19	16
	Liked	14	19	9	19	12	19	16	14	15
	Disliked	9	9	34 _{ci}	13	22	11	9	23c	16
	All	8	11	14	18	11	14	9	16	13
Informal individual play	School	16	24	18	21	17	23	20	19	20
	Home	23	24	29	31	26	27	24	30	27
	Liked	14	19	23	22	19	20	16	23	19
	Disliked	10	21	12	14	11	17	15	13	14
	All	16	22	21	22	18	22	19	21	20
Informal social play	School	48	60c	27	28	37	44	54 _{cc}	28	41
	Home	41c	51c	18	19	29	35	46 _{cc}	19	32
	Liked	39c	48c	14	23	26	35	43 _{cc}	18	30
	Disliked	55 _{cc}	55 _{cc}	22	21	39	38	55 _{cc}	21	39
	All	46c	54c	20	23	33	38	50 _{cc}	22	36
Individual competitive games	School	13	6	2	2	7	4	10	2	6
	Home	13	3	2	5	8	4	8	3	6
	Liked	12	2	6	7	9	4	7	7	7
	Disliked	14	6	8	12	11	9	10	10	10
	All	13	4	4	6	9	5	9	5	7
Team games	School	24	9	50c	37c	36	30	16	44 _{cc}	30
	Home	12	7	40 _{ci}	18	27	13	10	29 _{cc}	20
	Liked	21	13	49c	30	35	22	17	40 _{cc}	28
	Disliked	11	9	23	38 _{cc}	17	24	11	30 _{cc}	20
	All	17	9	41c	31c	29	21	13	36 _{cc}	24
N		30	30	30	30	60	60	60	60	120

i Intra-cultural difference significant at five percent level ii at one percent level.
c Cross-cultural difference significant at five percent level cc at one percent level.

Rural-urban differences are similarly analyzed in Table III. Significant differences appear in informal play categories for the Japanese, but not for the Americans. When cultures are combined, rural-urban differences disappear as such. The impact of "rural" and "urban" for the two cultures apparently differs.

The data seem to verify the hypotheses suggested, that (1) people in differing cultures are alike in the developmental sequence of play patterns, and that (2) sex differences and rural-urban differences are reflections of differences in cultural impact.

TABLE III
Rural-Urban Differences in Play

Play Category Question		All		All		All		All		Percent
		R	U	R	U	R	U	Japan- ese	Ameri- cans	
Adult-oriented play	School	0	0	4	13c	2	6	0	8c	4
	Home	13	12	12	26	12	19	13	19	16
	Liked	18	15	6	22	12	19	16	14	15
	Disliked	10	9	14	31c	12	20	9	23c	16
	All	10	9	9	23	10	16	9	16	13
Informal individual play	School	15	26	25	14	20	20	20	19	20
	Home	12	37i	35c	26	23	31	24	30	27
	Liked	6	26i	32c	13	19	20	16	23	19
	Disliked	5	24i	13	12	9	18	15	13	14
	All	10	28	27	16	18	22	19	21	20
Informal Social play	School	59c	48c	31	26	45	37	54cc	28	41
	Home	60cc	31	19	19	39	25	46cc	19	32
	Liked	53cc	33	16	19	35	26	43cc	18	30
	Disliked	72cc	37	26	18	49	28	55cc	21	39
	All	62cc	37	23	21	42	29	50cc	22	36
Individual competitive games	School	9	12	1	2	5	7	10	2	6
	Home	4	12	2	4	3	8	8	3	6
	Liked	2	12	5	8	3	10	7	7	7
	Disliked	4	15	13	8	8	12	10	10	10
	All	5	13	5	5	5	9	9	5	7
Team games	School	17	15	41c	47cc	29	31	16	44cc	30
	Home	10	10	34c	24	22	17	10	29cc	20
	Liked	20	14	39	40c	30	27	17	40cc	28
	Disliked	11	12	32c	28	21	20	11	30cc	20
	All	13	13	36c	35c	25	24	13	36cc	24
N		30	30	30	30	60	60	60	60	120

i Intra-cultural difference significant at five percent level, ii at one percent level.
c Cross-cultural difference significant at five percent level cc at one percent level

The clarity with which the critical areas of difference appear suggest that the method proposed might well be used to locate significant areas for more detailed exploration in cross-cultural studies. For example, an understanding of Japanese informal social play may be the key to understanding much of Japanese culture.

The impression created for the American group is interesting. Age differences are greater than for the Japanese. Adult-oriented play is stressed early through "dramatic play" and "circle games." Team games and organized activities are highly developed for older children, particularly boys. The early adult domination and the structuring of play toward team games suggests that the "organization man" may be the result of social pressures beginning in early childhood.

The data presented are suggestive only. More cases are needed within the population sample. More samples are needed from both groups, for example broader socio-economic groups for comparison with Americans in schools in other cultures. Cultures other than the Japanese should be similarly studied to see whether the hypotheses hold.

CONCLUSION

A method of analyzing cross-cultural data on children's play as an index to differential cultural impact has been proposed and tested. Extension to other groups is suggested.

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Attitude Toward Sport and Physical Activity Among Adolescents from Four English Speaking Countries

by

Gerald S. Kenyon

Not all social scientists agree that the concept "youth culture" is a viable one. Nevertheless, interest in the adolescent and his "society" has continued to grow, particularly since the Coleman studies of 1961. Sociologists, however, have tended to concentrate upon the adolescent and his drugs, his sexual behavior, and his political activity. Consequently, little serious attention has been paid to the role of sport and physical activity in the life style of contemporary adolescents and young adults. Cognizant of this situation, a study was undertaken during 1966 which focused upon values held for sport and physical activity by adolescents, both in general, and with regard to some limited cross-national comparisons (Kenyon, 1968b). This paper reports a portion of the findings, namely, those pertaining to attitude toward several dimensions of physical activity.

BACKGROUND

The larger study was undertaken to determine the nature and extent of values held for sport and physical activity among adolescents, by examining data reflecting both behavioral and dispositional aspects of involvement. Thus the dependent variables consisted of certain behavioral measures, including both active and passive participation, and certain dispositional measures -- the concern of this paper -- namely, attitudes reflecting several instrumental values associated with sport and physical activity. With respect to attitudes then, some of the major questions to which answers were sought were as follows:

1. To what extent are adolescents favorably disposed toward sport and physical activity?
2. Do attitudes vary as a function of age and sex?
3. Are adolescents' attitudes consistent across countries having a common language and having much similarity in social institutions?
4. When physical activity is characterized differentially, toward which dimensions are adolescents most favorably disposed?
5. Are there some behavioral, dispositional and situational factors which are associated with attitude toward sport and physical activity?

With regard to possible national differences and some potential correlates of attitude, brief discussions follow.

National Differences in Attitude

Although not numerous, comparative studies in sociology have long been regarded as being useful, not only in their contribution to the better understanding of social phenomena in different societies per se, but also, in their utility for testing social theory in a wider realm. If, upon analysis, explanatory propositions hold up in inter-societal comparisons, such propositions are thereby generalized, and as such become more powerful. Propositions directly concerning sport are few however, and thus, studies such as this one tend to be more descriptive than explanatory

Upon considering the characteristics of the four countries from which data were acquired for the present study, namely, Canada, Australia, England and the United States, one might expect considerable uniformity in view of their common cultural heritage. More specifically, similarities in language and in their various social institutions would suggest value systems closely resembling one another. Further, in the realm of sport, much of what we know of by the term today originated in the games played in England during the 19th Century and diffused to other countries, particularly English speaking ones. Yet, claims for national differences in sport values have frequently been heard from both laymen and professional alike. For example, if Australia is the sporting nation that it is often alleged to be, one might expect the Australian to be not only more involved in sport, but also, to harbor more positive attitudes toward various manifestations of it. Or, when investigators, during the 1950's and '60's, discovered inferiorities in the physical prowess of United States children when compared with those of other countries, they were quick to account for their findings in terms of national differences in values held for sport and physical activity. It has often been argued that this situation was precipitated by a style of life in the United States best characterized as "soft," -- the immediate consequence of urbanization and automation. By way of a third illustration, sex differences in attitudes toward sport and physical activity might be expected to be greater in the United States than abroad, owing to the relatively restricted participant role played by women in the United States

The foregoing, and many other such arguments, clearly are in the realm of conjecture. While such speculations are obviously plausible, they have not been based upon careful theoretical analyses of the societies involved, nor have there been many attempts to determine their merits empirically. What is needed, then, as a pre-requisite

to the formulation of explanatory propositions, is much more basic information concerning how people are involved in sport in various countries. In addition, by beginning with societies having much in common, as was the case for the study reported here, if cross-national differences are found, there could be even greater variations among nations reflecting greater societal differences.

Correlates of Attitude

Although the project referred to herein was meant to be largely descriptive in its effort to identify cross-national differences in sport involvement, data were acquired reflecting a number of independent variables -- behavioral, dispositional and situational -- and subsequently related to the several attitude measures. Although any relationships discovered could not be interpreted causally, they may provide some insight upon which later explanatory propositions might be formulated.

The behavioral variables for the most part consisted of participation, both actively and passively, in various forms of sport and physical activity. Dispositional variables included an abbreviated form of the six dimensions of the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values (1960), self-esteem, body-esteem, need for approval, and a measure of the respondent's relation with father. Situational factors included such measures as family size, birth order, social class background (as reflected in education and occupation of household head), peer involvement, family involvement and religious preference. Control variables, such as sex and level of educational attainment, were used as independent variables for certain analyses. The rationale for the choice of the various independent variables is presented elsewhere (Kenyon, 1968b). A discussion of the major dependent variables used for this report appears below.

PROCEDURES

A brief description of the subjects and instruments used to collect the data is given below. Treated first, however, is the nature of the dependent variables, namely, attitudes toward sport and physical activity.

The Attitude Object Dimensions of Physical Activity

A conceptual model characterizing physical activity, together with its underlying rationale, have been presented elsewhere (Kenyon, 1968a). In brief, it was assumed that "physical activity" can be reduced to more specific, or meaningful components, i. e., a set of all physical activities can be reduced to logical subsets, and that a

meaningful basis for doing so was the "perceived instrumentality" of each class of physical activities. Thus, each subset, or "dimension," provided a "psychological object" toward which one may be favorably or unfavorably disposed. As a result, one's attitude was not directed to a sport per se, or toward some traditional class of sports, such as "team sports," or "individual sports." Rather, a particular sport may serve different people in different ways. The seven dimensions of the model were as follows. physical activity perceived as (1) a social experience, (2) health and fitness, (3) the pursuit of vertigo, (4) an aesthetic experience, (5) catharsis, (6) an ascetic experience and (7) as chance.

1. Physical Activity as a Social Experience Claims that participation in physical activity can meet certain social needs of individuals have long appeared in professional literature. For this study it was postulated that lay opinion would be similar, that is, physical activity engaged in by groups of two or more is perceived by many as having some social value. Thus, physical activity as a social experience was characterized by those physical activities whose primary purpose is to provide a medium for social intercourse, i. e., to meet new people and to perpetuate existing relationships.

2. Physical Activity for Health and Fitness. The formation of national fitness agencies, the widely prevalent existence of the health studio, the writings of physical educators and the statements of the medical profession, have all served to suggest that health through physical activity is both possible and desirable. Therefore, it was posited that some physical activity can be characterized primarily by its contribution to the improvement of one's health and fitness. Obviously, jogging, isometrics and other conditioning exercises are for such a purpose, but conceivably, many activities could be similarly oriented.

3. Physical Activity as the Pursuit of Vertigo. The suggestion that certain physical activities can provide a medium for "pursuing vertigo" comes from Caillios (1961), and modified after the comments of McIntosh (1963). As a result, physical activity as the pursuit of vertigo is considered to be those physical experiences providing, at some risk to the participant, an element of thrill through the medium of speed, acceleration, sudden change of direction or exposure to dangerous situations, with the participant usually remaining in control.

4. Physical Activity as an Aesthetic Experience. The proposition is advanced here that many people believe that

at least some forms of physical activity are generally pleasing to the eye, and have a capacity for satisfying aesthetic tastes. Although some may consider skilled movement as beautiful in a broad prospective, from ballet to Olympic gymnastics, others would insist on a much narrower range of physical activities -- perhaps restricted to the creative and expressive movements primarily found in the dance. The important point is that physical activity is often perceived of as having aesthetic value for the individual -- that is, activities are conceived of as possessing beauty or certain artistic qualities.

5. Physical Activity as Catharsis. The notion that a reduction in tension is achieved by expressing hostility and aggression, either directly by attacking the instigator of the frustration, or more commonly, through venting one's hostilities through some equivalent form of aggressive behavior, is the "catharsis hypothesis." Thus, when physical activity is perceived as providing a release of frustration-precipitating tension through some vicarious means, it is considered to be cathartic. Although doubt has been cast upon the existence of the phenomenon (Berkowitz, 1962), psychiatrists, physical educators, and laymen continue to consider it a viable concept. What is important is whether or not physical activity is perceived as having a cathartic function, that is, a belief that physical activity can provide a release from frustration and so-called pent-up emotions created by pressures of modern living.

6. Physical Activity as an Ascetic Experience. It was reasoned that if sport provides a medium for the expression of superiority, as McIntosh suggests, then those who aspire to high levels of achievement, regardless of the sport, recognize the need to delay gratification and to be able to endure long and strenuous periods of training. The associated punishment of the body (although seldom inflicting permanent damage) is seen by some to be somewhat akin to religious ascetism. It would seem that there is much in contemporary sport which is analogous. Championship performance today requires the athlete to undergo a kind of "ascetic" experience whereby physical activity for him becomes long, strenuous and often painful training and stiff competition demanding a deferment of many gratifications.

7. Physical Activity as Chance That there is an element of chance inherent in many games and physical activities is obvious. Moreover, gambling no doubt heightens the interest in sport by the consumer. Indeed there is some theoretical support for many people preferring sports or games, the outcome of which being based to a large extent upon chance (Caillois, 1961; Roberts and Sutton-Smith, 1962, and Loy, 1969). Thus, certain physical activities are perceived to have a sizable chance element and that certain people value this, sometimes over other elements.

Subjects

Samples of adolescents were drawn from the secondary school populations in each of four large cities in Canada, Australia, England, and the United States. In each case, schools were selected in conference with representatives of the central school administration and chosen to reflect differences in location, school type, and socio-economic conditions of the neighborhood. Within each city, four sub-populations were sampled, boys and girls from each of two age (or level of education) groups. 14-15 year olds (grade ten in Canada and the U.S., third form in Australia and fourth form in England), and 17-18 year olds (grade twelve, fifth and sixth form, respectively). While the younger group can be considered as representative of all urban youth of their age in their respective city, the older group cannot be considered as equally representative, in view of many having dropped out of school. This is particularly true for the English sample where up to 70 percent leave school before the sixth form, with most of those who remain tending to be intellectually superior, and coming from families whose socio-economic status is above average.

Instruments

Attitudes toward the seven dimensions of physical activity were measured using 8-scale semantic differentials containing adjectives selected for appropriateness from those shown by Osgood *et al.* (1957) to represent the evaluative dimension of semantic space. Hoyt reliabilities ranged from 0.60 (health and fitness, English 4th form boys) to 0.88 (vertigo, English 6th form girls). However, the magnitude of most coefficients exceeded 0.80.

A body-esteem score was acquired through the use of a semantic differential similar to that used to assess attitude. The level of self-esteem and a "relation with father" score were obtained using Guttman scales developed by Rosenberg (1965). "Need for approval" was determined using a scale developed by Crowne and Marlowe (1964). Participation data (for self, father, and peers) and certain situational variables (including family size, birth order, father's occupational status, father's education, and religious preference) were acquired using a separate questionnaire.

All data were collected during the year 1966, using procedures standardized for all countries. Following the elimination of subjects whose inventories were incomplete or who failed to meet response style criteria, data were available from 3,177 students, 942 from Canada, 606 from Australia, 883 from England, and 746 from the United States.

RESULTS

The findings are presented in three parts. attitude as a function of age, sex and country, attitude as a function of perceived instrumental value of physical activity, and attitude as a function of selected behavioral, dispositional and situational variables.

Attitude by Age, Sex and Country

Table 1 provides a summary of the attitude data by showing the mean and standard deviation of each attitude dimension, controlling for country and sex. By inspection of the means it can be seen that a number of differences exist. To ascertain whether

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Attitude Data, by Country, Sex and Dimension of Physical Activity*

Dimension		Canada		Australia		England		United States	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Social	\bar{X} s	45.6 6.7	46.3 6.6	44.5 6.1	45.9 6.1	44.8 6.4	46.9 5.5	44.68 6.4	46.5 6.3
2. Health & Fitness	\bar{X} s	44.3 6.8	43.9 7.4	42.2 6.8	43.6 7.1	44.1 6.4	45.6 6.5	44.2 7.0	45.3 7.0
3. Vertigo	\bar{X} s	38.9 8.5	35.5 10.0	35.9 8.7	33.3 9.9	38.1 8.7	36.7 9.9	36.6 9.5	35.8 9.8
4. Aesthetic	\bar{X} s	43.1 9.5	48.7 7.1	41.9 9.7	47.7 6.7	13.3 8.5	49.4 5.1	42.1 10.3	48.0 7.7
5. Catharsis	\bar{X} s	45.2 8.1	46.5 7.5	43.3 8.4	45.0 7.5	45.4 7.9	45.3 7.5	43.2 8.6	45.3 8.7
6. Ascetic	\bar{X} s	34.3 8.9	32.9 9.6	30.3 8.9	30.1 8.5	32.2 9.2	31.7 10.1	34.6 9.7	32.0 10.3
7. Chance	\bar{X} s	32.4 10.0	32.0 10.0	29.1 9.9	27.4 9.5	33.9 10.0	31.8 10.7	32.5 10.5	31.9 11.0

*Over both age levels combined

such differences were greater than might reasonably be expected to occur by chance, a three-way analysis of variance (country, level and sex) was used for each of the seven dimensions of physical activity. This procedure provided F values for each of the three main effects, three first order interactions and one second order interaction. Space does not permit the presentation of all findings,¹

¹See Kenyon, 1968b, for more detailed results

however, a summary of main-effect F ratios, together with their associated p values is given in Table 2

Table 2
Summary of Three-Way Analyses of Various Results: (main effects only)

Dimension	Country		Level (age)		Sex	
	F	p	F	p	F	p
1. Social	2.05	>0.100	<1.00	-	43.04	<0.005
2. Health & Fitness	13.05	<0.005	<1.00	-	12.85	<0.005
3. Vertigo	14.44	<0.005	<1.00	-	37.16	<0.005
4. Aesthetic	6.22	<0.005	21.37	<0.005	396.51	<0.005
5. Catharsis	7.88	<0.005	26.11	<0.005	19.12	<0.005
6. Ascetic	22.83	<0.005	2.92	<0.100	13.62	<0.005
7. Chance	32.51	<0.005	22.55	<0.005	10.48	<0.005

*Degrees of freedom for the error term were 3193, and for country, level and sex, 3, 1 and 1, respectively.

Attitude By Instrumental Value of Physical Activity

The use of the semantic differential to assess attitude permitted comparisons among the means representing each of the seven dimensions of physical activity (Osgood *et al.*, 1957). Thus a two-way analysis of variance (sex by attitude dimension), with repeated observations on one dimension (attitudes), was undertaken to determine which instrumental value was held in highest regard.

Descriptive statistics for this phase of the analysis are given in Table 3, while the results of the analysis of variance appear in Table 4. The differences among the seven attitude dimensions are obviously highly significant. Upon inspecting the overall means for each subdomain of attitude it can be readily seen that adolescents from all countries expressed the most positive attitude toward physical activity as a social experience, as health and fitness, as an aesthetic experience and as catharsis. The attitude expressed toward the remaining three dimensions, namely, physical

Table 3

Means of Scores on Semantic Differential Scale for Each of the Seven Attitudes, Controlling for Sex (N = 2994)

Attitude Toward Physical Activity	Male \bar{X}	Female \bar{X}	Total \bar{X}
As a Social Experience	44.9	46.4	45.6
As Health and Fitness	43.7	44.6	44.1
As the Pursuit of Vertigo	37.4	35.3	36.4
As an Aesthetic Experience	42.6	48.5	45.4
As Catharsis	44.3	45.5	44.9
As an Ascetic Experience	32.8	31.7	32.3
As Chance	32.0	30.8	31.4
All Attitudes	39.7	40.4	40.0

Table 4

Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Differences Among Attitudes and Between Sexes: Scores on Semantic Differential Scales*

Source	d.f.	Mean Square	F	P
Attitudes	6	124092	2068	<.001
Sex X Attitude	6	4982	83	<.001
Error	17952	59		
Total	17964			

*The unavailability of a suitable computer program to handle the data as arranged on punch cards and with unequal cell sizes prevented analysis by a repeated measures design with attitude as an independent variable. Consequently, the analysis performed was a trend analysis on the semantic differential scale for each attitude taken over two groups (sex).

activity as the pursuit of vertigo, as an ascetic experience and as chance, were much less positive than those expressed toward the former group. The least preferred form of physical activity seems to be that manifesting chance. The sex X attitude interaction is likely a function of girls expressing a more positive attitude than boys toward physical activity as an aesthetic experience, while the reverse is true for physical activity perceived as the pursuit of vertigo.

Attitude and Selected Behavioral, Dispositional and Situational Correlates

In an effort to ascertain the relative degree of association between attitude and certain psychological and situational variables, the data were analyzed using a non-symmetrical branch process (Automatic Interaction Detection: AID) based upon variance-analysis techniques, whereby the original sample is sub-divided into a series of sub-groups which maximize one's ability to predict values of the dependent variable (Sonquist and Morgan, 1964). This approach is appropriate not only because of its multivariate nature, but also because it requires no assumptions regarding linearity and additivity, which are inherent in multiple regression procedures. Analyses were performed separately for each country.

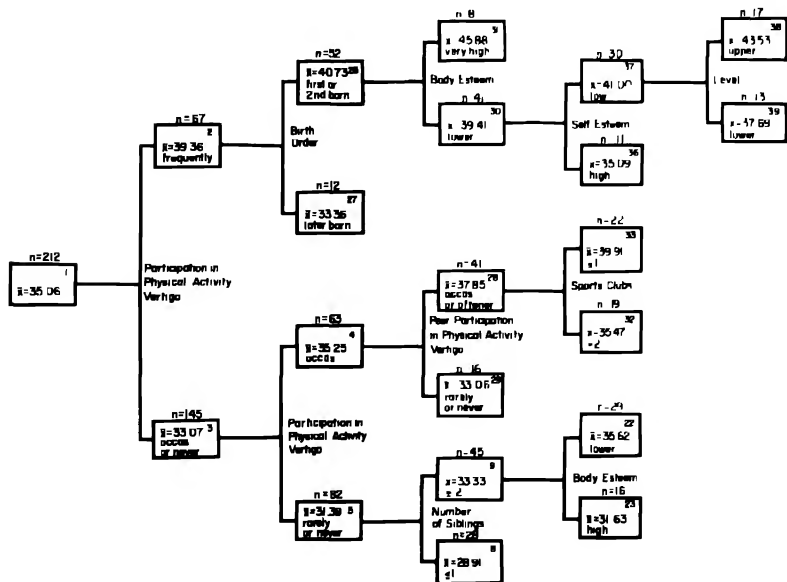
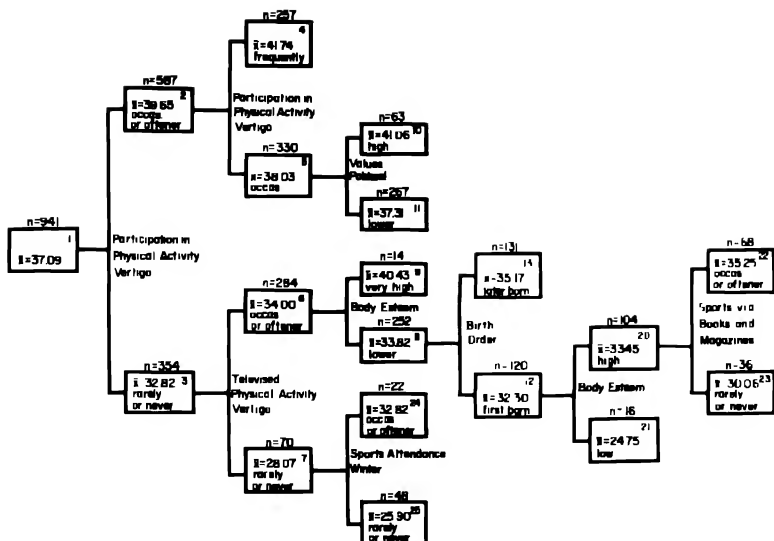
Space does not permit the reporting of the 28 separate analyses, however, two illustrations -- Pursuit of Vertigo and Aesthetic Experience -- are provided together with a summary of the other findings. The reader is referred to the more complete report (Kenyon, 1968) for the results of the remaining five dimensions.

Activity as the Pursuit of Vertigo. For the Canadian and Australian samples nearly half of the variance associated with attitude toward physical activity as the pursuit of vertigo was accounted for by the various independent variables used in this phase of the study. However, the proportion dropped to approximately one-quarter for the English and the United States samples. Moreover, there were some national differences with respect to some of the contributing variables. However, it is quite clear upon examining the data presented in Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4, that there is a close association between primary and secondary involvement in vertiginous activity and attitude toward it. The most important involvement variable was the frequency of actual participation in vertiginous activity, with peer participation and secondary involvement contributing considerable variance in some cases. Certain other variables were important for a particular national sample.

An example "high" group is seen in the United States data (Figure 4). Members of group 8 ($n = 118$) are Catholic and participate frequently in vertiginous activity. At the other extreme members of group thirteen ($n = 42$) rarely or never participate in vertiginous physical activity, or view it on television. Group fourteen ($n = 18$) of the English sample, a "high" group, is made up of students who come from families in which they were the "only" child, have high body-esteem, are at the lower level of educational attainment (ages 14-15) and are occasional or oftener participants in vertiginous physical activity. In contrast is a "low" group (group 23, $n = 16$) from the Australian sample, the members of which are high in body-esteem, have two or more siblings, but rarely, if ever, participate in vertiginous physical activity.

Activity as an Aesthetic Experience. The most important variables accounting for attitude toward physical activity perceived as an aesthetic experience are sex, aesthetic values in general, secondary involvement in aesthetic activity, body-esteem, need for approval and religious preference. The proportion of variance accounted for by each of these was relatively stable across countries. Total variance accounted for ranged from 36.8 percent for the U.S. sample to 50.2 percent for the Canadian sample. With the exception of the United States sample, fewer variables seemed to account for more of the total variance on this dimension than in the analyses of certain other dimensions.

Examining Figures 5, 6, 7 and 8 permits the selection of certain representative "high" and "low" groups. For example, members of a "low" group (group 30, $n = 40$) from the English male sample have the following characteristics: a good relationship with father, low self-esteem, low body-esteem and minimal if any exposure to televised aesthetic physical activity. On the other hand, members of a "high" group (group 28, $n = 25$) from the same male sample have a poor relationship with their fathers, are high on economic values in general, are Protestant, or have no religious preference and view televised aesthetically oriented physical activity occasionally or oftener. Another example of a "high" group is group forty-seven ($n = 19$) from the United States sample. Students in this group are female, high in body-esteem, view televised aesthetic physical activity occasionally or oftener and prize aesthetic values in general.



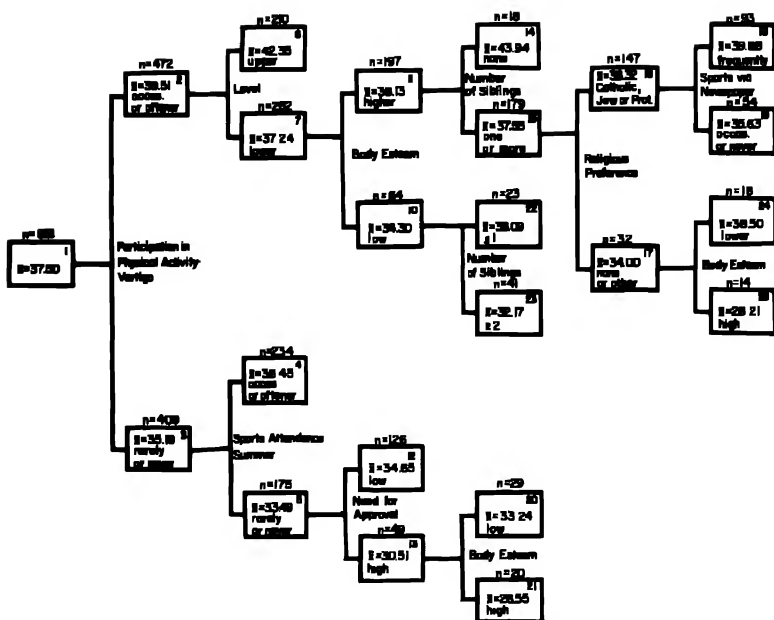


FIGURE 3 FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AS THE PURSUIT OF VERTIGO AMONG ENGLISH SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

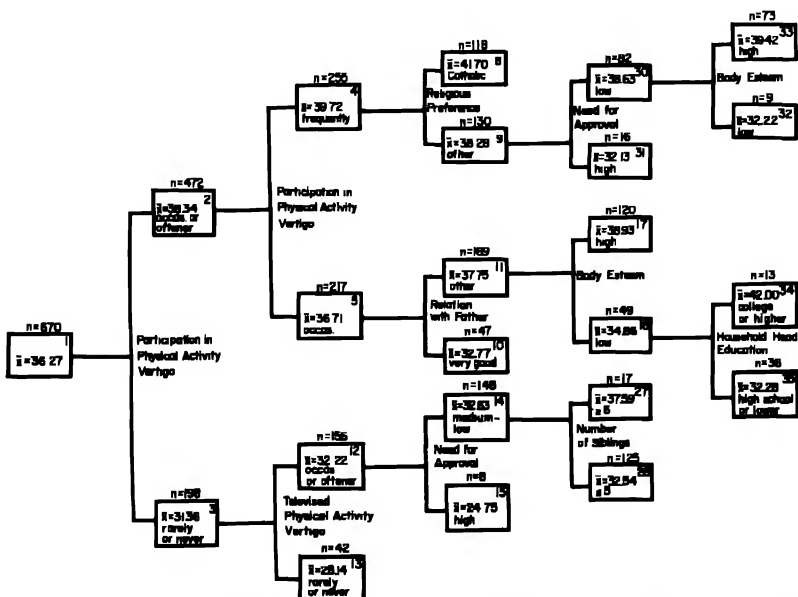
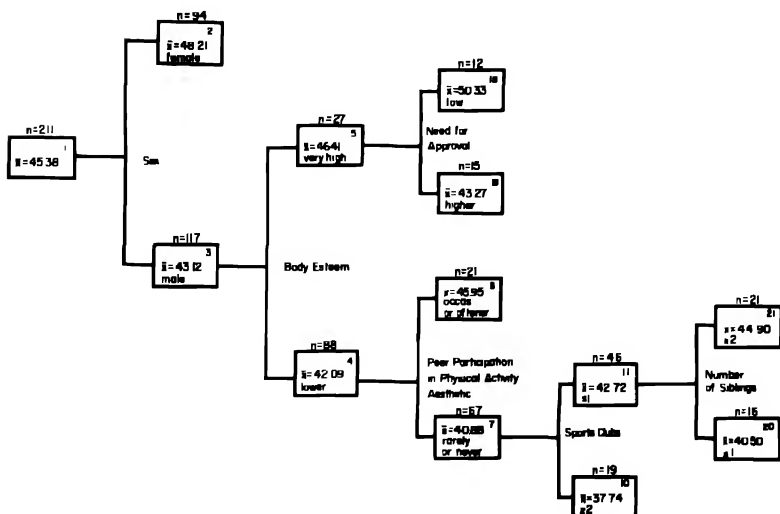
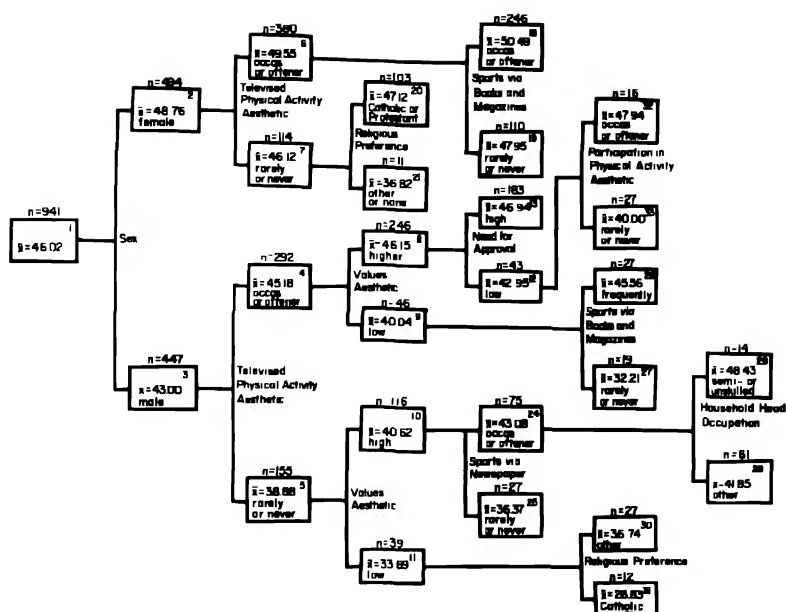


FIGURE 4 FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AS THE PURSUIT OF VERTIGO AMONG U.S. SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS



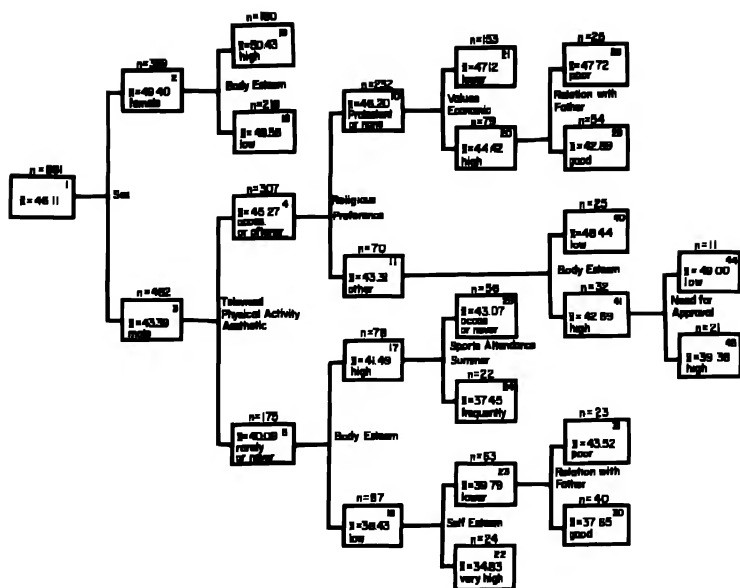


FIGURE 7 FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AS AN AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE AMONG ENGLISH SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

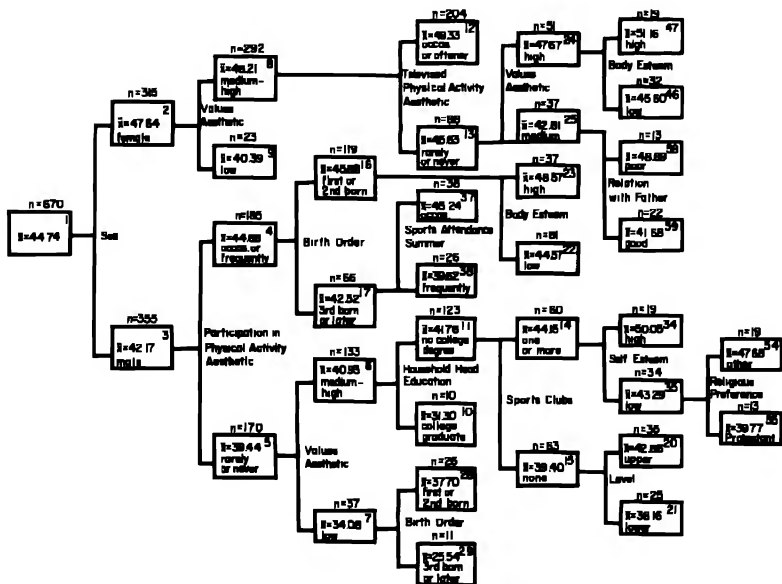


FIGURE 8 FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AS AN AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE AMONG U.S. SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

SUMMARY

In general, it can be concluded that attitude toward the various dimensions of physical activity is a function of both primary and secondary involvement in the activity toward which attitude is experienced. In addition, attitude was found to be associated with certain behavioral dispositions, including body-esteem, self-esteem and need for approval. However, the explanatory power of the several situational variables differed considerably among the various attitude dimensions, at no time did they account for a large proportion of variance, although significant associations were frequently observed.

A finding that could have implications for future studies is that apparently it is possible to explain an attitude of given direction and intensity by more than one combination of traits. In terms of this study, two or more groups were often identified whose mean attitude scores were quite similar, yet whose dispositional and situational characteristics were quite dissimilar.

The proportion of total variance accounted for by the several independent variables in any one analysis varied from one dimension of attitude to another. However, the proportion was, in nearly every analysis, less than fifty percent, which would be equivalent to a multiple R of approximately 0.70. It is likely that there are several factors that account for the unexplained variance. One of the most important of these would be the unreliability of both the dependent and independent variables. In addition, however, it is possible that certain other factors would be important, such as antecedent variables associated with the socialization process. No doubt the inclusion of ability and achievement data would also make a contribution to minimizing the unexplained variance.

Although work described in this paper represents some necessary beginning steps, greater success in the explanation of attitude toward physical activity awaits a more definitive theory concerning the etiology of such attitudes. Moreover, in view of the apparent link between attitude and involvement, it would behoove the future investigator to take cognizance of emerging theories of involvement or involvement socialization.

CONCLUSIONS

Based upon findings derived from analyses of data reflecting attitude toward various perceived instrumentalities associated with sport and physical activity, the following conclusions are presented

1. Attitude toward physical activity is a function of the perceived instrumental value associated with the activity in question.

Among adolescents enrolled in secondary schools the most positive attitudes are those toward physical activity characterized as a social experience, as health and fitness, as an aesthetic experience and as catharsis. Less positive attitudes prevail when physical activity is characterized as the pursuit of vertigo, as an ascetic experience and as chance.

2. Attitude toward physical activity is a function of sex. Females possess a more positive attitude toward physical activity when it is perceived as a social experience, as health and fitness, as an aesthetic experience and as catharsis, while males possess more positive attitudes than females toward physical activity perceived as the pursuit of vertigo, as an ascetic experience and as chance.

3. The relative position of each of the seven dimensions of attitude are consistent across the four countries studied. In general, Australian adolescents possess less positive attitudes toward physical activity than those representing the other three nations.

4. Older students are more disposed toward physical activity as an ascetic experience and as catharsis than the younger students. Younger students, on the other hand, express a more positive attitude toward physical activity as chance than their older counterparts.

5. Attitude toward physical activity is directly related to the degree of primary and secondary involvement in activity toward which the attitude is expressed.

6. To some extent, attitudes toward physical activity are a function of other acquired behavioral dispositions, including body-esteem, self-esteem, need for approval, social values and relationship with father.

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Daily Participation in Sport Across Twelve Countries

by

John P. Robinson

Unlike the other research to be reported in this volume, sports do not comprise the major focus in the data collected. Rather our basic data consist of a census of all daily adult activities on a "typical" day in ten European countries, Peru and the United States. While the one day time period does seriously restrict the range of findings that can be generated from the data (especially about individual behavior), other features of this research have extremely important implications for the aims of this workshop. For this reason, a considerable portion of this paper will now be devoted to describing the many values of time budget studies and the major innovative features of the international study design.

Time-budget data

Time-budgets of human behavior offer the interested observer a bounty of rich insights. Perhaps their major value for the sociologist lies in their interpretability as a rough gauge of the importance of everyday activities be the activity sports, work or sleep. Time expenditure figures are often called upon to support arguments of social analysts about man at work or man at leisure. However, care needs to be taken lest incorrect conclusions are drawn, witness the erroneous conclusions about the mythical decreasing workweek or the overrated addiction of Americans to television.

Unlike most measures in sociology, with time as a unit of measurement there can be little argument about what one is really measuring, nor about the fact that one is dealing with a unidimensional phenomenon. Furthermore, time, at least on a daily or yearly basis, is one quantity that is equally distributed to all members of a society, and even to all mankind. Thus, because "everybody has to be somewhere," a single number representing time expenditure has the potential of placing a particular segment of human behavior in a unique yet objective perspective.

One of the main implications of the term "budgets" in connection with time use is that the full advantages of the variable of time are maintained. There are finite amounts of time available and one can envision man "spending" time in much the same way as economists see him spending money. In fact, one might even conceive of time as sociological "currency," allowing the sociologist to work with powerful quantitative methods, now available only to economists.

To fully utilize the advantages of the time variable, it is most desirable that all time periods be accounted for. In the present context of daily activity, one should utilize the full 24 hour period. By failing to include certain time periods, such as afternoons when it is assumed most people are working or at night when the vast majority are asleep, the researcher may well fail to account for activities that are salient to the sport sociologist -- e.g., the businessman who has taken the afternoon off to play golf or the shift worker taking a midnight swim. Such behaviors become extremely important because we shall see that sports activities take up but a very small portion of everyday behavior and only by rigorous accounting procedures for the full 24 hours does the researcher ensure that all relevant activity is reported.

The single 24 hour period has the advantages of being an exhaustive sampling unit and is least subject to respondent memory decay. It would of course be notoriously inefficient for the sports sociologist to gauge societal participation in sports by exhaustively cataloguing the full day's activities of a cross-section sample for a single day. Rather the data available from our project can serve as a backdrop for future studies of the place of sports in daily life. Future surveys can and should check on single day's sports activities to ensure the most reliable estimates of societal participation, but they should mainly focus on longer time periods (participation in the last week, last month, or last year) in order to shed more light on individual patterns of participation.

With the basic measurement problems conveniently out of the way, the category scheme into which activities must be coded becomes the crucial element in the analysis of time use. The category scheme shown in Table 1, which was developed for the study to be described shortly, is a most promising start in the direction of a comprehensive and standardized coding system. There are 96 basic activity categories into which all activities on the diary day were coded. One fundamental distinction of the code is that the first five major category headings (i.e. 0-4) refer generally to obligatory or non-leisure activities, while the final five (5-9) refer to things considered leisure or usually done in one's spare time. Some obvious exceptions to this general rule can be noted but these will not concern us. It is more suitable to direct attention to code 80 which comprised all forms of participative sport activities. This single code does mask the interesting variation in types of sports activities in which the sport sociologist is interested, which is a major liability in the present data. However, there is nothing to prevent future studies from employing a third digit to capture this variation, namely 801 for soccer, 802 for swimming, 803 for hockey, etc.

Table 1
Basic Activity Code

0. WORK RELATED	1. HOUSEWORK	2. CHILD CARE	3. SHOPPING	4. PERSONAL NEEDS
009. Regular work	109. Preparing food	209. Baby care (under 5)	30*. Everyday needs	409. Washing & dressing
019. Working at home	119. Meal cleanup	219. Child care (over 5)	31*. Durable goods	419. Medicinal care
029. Overtime	129. Indoor chores	229. Helping homework	329. Personal care	423. Helping adults
03*. Travel at work	139. Outdoor chores	23*. Reading to	339. Medical care	439. Meals at home
04*. Waiting, delays	149. Laundry	249. Indoor entertaining	34*. Government services	449. Restaurant meals
059. Moonlighting	159. Mending	259. Outdoor entertaining	35*. Repair services	459. Night sleep
069. Meals at workplace	169. Other repairs	269. Medical care	36*. Waiting	469. Naps
079. Other	179. Animal/plant care	279. Other (babysitting)	37*. Other services	479. Resting
089. Coffee breaks	189. Heat/water upkeep	289. --	389. --	489. Private, other
09*. Travel to/from work	199. Other	29*. Related travel	39*. Related travel	49*. Related travel
5. ADULT EDUCATION	6. ORGANIZA- TIONS	7. SOCIAL EN- TERTAINMENT	8. ACTIVE LEISURE	9. PASSIVE LEISURE
509. Full-time classes	609. Organization work	709. Sports events	809. Playing sports	90*. Radio
519. Other classes	619. Work as officer	719. Nightclubs, fairs	819. Hunting, fishing	91*. T V
529. Special lectures	629. Other activity	72*. Movies	829. Taking a walk	929. Records
539. Polit/union courses	639. Volunteer work	73*. Theatre & concerts	839. Hobbies	93*. Reading books
54*. Homework & research	649. Religious clubs	749. Museums	849. Sewing, canning, etc.	94*. Reading magazines
55*. Technical reading	659. Religious services	759. Visits w/friends	859. Artistic	95*. Reading newspapers
569. Other	669. Union-management	769. Parties w/meals	869. Making music	969. Talking (on phone)
579. --	679. PTA, VFW, etc	779. Bars, tearooms	879. Games (cards, etc.)	799. Letters
589. --	689. Other	789. Other gatherings	889. Other (rides etc.)	989. Relaxing, thinking
59*. Related travel	69*. Related travel	79*. Related travel	89*. Related travel	99*. Related travel

Perusal of Table 1 will show that there are a number of other recreational activities which relate to sports, such as playing cards (code 87), going to sport events (code 70), hunting and fishing (code 81), taking a walk (code 82) or following sports events in the mass media (included in codes 90, 91, 93, 94, 95). These activities will not be fully examined in this paper, however.

The Multination Time-Budget Project

Despite a dramatic increased interest in cross-national comparative research recently, there still exist surprisingly few actual comparative studies of a survey nature. Perhaps the most cogent reason for this state of affairs is the large amount of funds that must be available to do such research. Thus one of the first decisions of the Multinational Comparative Time-Budget Research Project was to stipulate that social scientists in each country would be solely responsible for securing funds and carrying out the research in their own country. This step also contributed greatly to the minimization of tricky translation problems in study questions, which can so completely confound comparative research.

A UNESCO center in Vienna -- the European Center for the Coordination of Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences-- provided the auspices under which social scientists in the various countries could agree on a common set of basic questions and study requirements. The topic of daily time use constituted not only an area of common interest (a good deal of social research on the topic in European countries had already been carried out, but of course under varying procedures), but also a topic which would be minimally subject to possibly sensitive differences in political ideology across Eastern and Western European countries. In order to control for large differences in industrialization and urbanization patterns across the participating countries, it was decided to restrict the study to urban areas with between 30,000 and 300,000 inhabitants. It was further agreed that such urban areas contain no more than 5 percent of its population commuting to work outside the area, that 30 percent of the working population be employed in industry and less than 25 percent in agriculture. Researchers wishing to extend their research over a wider set of communities in their country were allowed to do so, provided that they met certain similar requirements. The actual countries and composition of survey sites are presented in Table 2. It will be seen that data for detailed within-country comparisons are available for three countries: Western Germany, Yugoslavia and the United States. Data from the East German, Peruvian, Cuban and Greek samples are not available at this writing.

Table 2
Basic Information About Survey Sites

Country	Survey Sites and Population	Sample Size	Time(s) of Survey
Belgium	425 Communes (26,000-265,000)	2078	Feb. -March 1966
Bulgaria	Kazanlık (46,000)	2102	Oct., 1965
Czechoslovakia	Olomouc (75,000)	1147	Nov-Dec., 1965
France	Six cities (10,000-175,000)	2802	Feb. -March, 1966
Hungary	Gyor (72,000)	1991	Oct., 1965
Poland	Torun (113,000)	2765	Nov-Dec., 1965
Russia	Pskov (115,000)	2947	Oct., -Nov, 1965
United States	Jackson, Michigan (72,000)	788	Nov.-Dec., 1965; Jan. -Feb., 1966, April-May, 1966
United States	42 Urban areas (50,000 - 15 million)	1244	Nov.-Dec., 1965, March-Apr., 1966
West Germany	Osnabruck (138,000)	985	Sept. -Oct., 1965
West Germany	100 Electoral districts	1534	May-June, 1965
Yugoslavia	Maribor (96,000)	1997	Oct. -Nov., 1965
Yugoslavia	Kragujevac (53,000)	2144	Nov.-Dec., 1965
East Germany	Hoyerswerda (90,000)	1650	
Peru	Lima-Callao	782	

Within each country, it was required that more than 2000 persons between the ages of 18 and 65 be interviewed. Samples were chosen according to area probability methods, with one person per household selected by random procedures. Households in which no adult was employed in a non-agricultural occupation were excluded, as were people in group quarters such as hospitals and prisons. Most interviews were conducted in the Fall of 1965, with certain exceptions (most notably, West German electoral districts) as seen in Table 2.

Sports activity across twelve countries on a typical day

To put the daily time expenditure on sports into proper perspective, it is of course necessary to know something about the availability of "free time" in these countries. The definition of what constitutes free time is of course quite arbitrary and the investigator is quite likely to expose his own cultural biases in so doing. The figures which are given in the first column of Table 3 are derived from definitions by Soviet sociologists and adopted by the multi-nation

participants. However, there are a number of activities that one might consider "free" which are excluded: eating and sleeping (on which the French and Belgians spent most time) and non-work-related travel (where Americans excel). Moreover, there are a number of activities in which the leisure component is questionable, adult education, activities in organizations or taking a client to a nightclub. Thus the Table 3 figures should be treated as one definition of the "true" amount of available free time. The complete domain of leisure time activities covered in the Table 3 figures in terms of the Table 1 code is as follows: 50-56, 60-68, 70-78, 80-88, 90-98, 23, 24, 42.

Employment of this definition of free time suggests a general tendency for the more Eastern European (and less developed) survey sites to have less leisure. Largest amounts of free time are reported for the United States, Peru, West Germany and Belgium and least for Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia (Maribor)--although the Eastern site of Kragujevac, Yugoslavia recorded the largest amount of free time. Within the amount of free time available, it can be seen that relatively little -- an average 2.3 minutes or less than one percent of all free time across all countries -- is devoted to participation in sports.

The expectation that countries having largest amounts of free time would have the most time devoted to sports was only mildly confirmed. The correlation between the two time estimates was only about .2. The cases of Hungary, with lowest free time but an average amount of sports activity, and Kragujevac, with the largest amount of free time but the lowest amount of sports activity, were the most glaring exceptions to the expected relation. However, four of the highest sites which showed the largest amount of time devoted to sports were those with above average amounts of available free time.

Turning now to male-female differences in Table 3, we see that, as expected, men were far more active in sports than women, over three times as active in terms of the percent participating and about four times as much in terms of time allocated across all countries. Differences in male-female participation rates are parallel to those found for amount of time engaged in sports, with the United States, West Germany, and Russia showing the highest relative participation by women.

There is one glaring aberration in the percent participation figures that deserves comment -- the extremely large participation rate for Russia in relation to its normal amount of time expenditure. The only explanation that seems plausible for this incongruity would be that daily exercises, which take only a few moments to complete,

Table 3

Free time and participation in active sports across the 15 survey sites (time is in minutes per day)

	Total Sample		Participation			
	Total Free Time	Time on Sports	Time Spent		Rates	
			Men	Women	Men	Women
Belgium	297	2.0	3.5	.5	3.8%	.8%
Bulgaria	231	2.1	2.8	.9	8.2%	2.8%
Czechoslovakia	239	2.2	3.5	1.1	5.2%	1.9%
East Germany	233	1.3	2.4	.6	3.4%	1.9%
France	245	1.4	2.4	.4	4.0%	1.2%
Hungary	200	1.5	2.7	.4	3.6%	1.0%
Peru	309	1.6	2.5	.9	4.1%	1.8%
Poland	262	1.0	1.8	.3	5.5%	2.1%
Russia	249	4.7	6.9	3.0	29.7%	13.0%
U. S. (Jackson)	310	5.0	7.1	3.2	5.1%	4.4%
U. S. (National)	301	5.5	8.2	3.3	7.8%	4.0%
West Germany (Osnabrück)	300	4.0	4.3	3.8	5.5%	5.0%
West Germany (National)	264	5.4	7.7	3.6	5.8%	3.5%
Yugoslavia (Maribor)	222	1.8	4.0	.1	4.6%	.7%
Yugoslavia (Kragujevac)	311	.2	.3	.0	.9%	.3%

are a far more prevalent facet of Russian daily life than in other countries.

In Table 4, we have portrayed further sources of variation in sports activity due to type of day, employment status, and marital status. With certain exceptions, most notably Peru and Bulgaria, the general expectations that there would be greater sports participation on days off from work is confirmed in Table 4. Stronger trends in

Table 4

Time (in minutes per day) spent in sports activity as a primary activity

	Employed Men				Employed Women				Homemakers			
	Workday	Day Off	Single	Married	Workday	Married	Day Off	Single	Married	Workday	Sunday	Single
Belgium	1 7	7 7	9 8	2.5	.8		2	1 2	.4	.2	.0	.0
Bulgaria	3.1	8	10 7	1 8	7		0	2.3	.7	.4	.0*	.2
Czechoslovakia	2.1	6.3	9 0	2 4	1.5		6	1.1	1.3	.0	0	2*
East Germany	1.7	2.3	15 2	1.9	.5		7	4	5	1.1	.0	.0*
France	1 9	3 0	3 3	2 3	.2		.1	3	4	6	.0	.4
Hungary	2 3	4.5	5.7	1 8	9		1	2.0	.2	0	.0	.0*
Peru	9	.0	3.2	.0	1 5		0*	2 1	0	0	.0	.1
Poland	1 2	7	5 0	9	6		2	.9	2	2	.3	.0*
Russia	4 8	14 4	17.4	5 1	3 1		4.0	4.2	2 7	1 6	3.3	.4*
U.S. (Jackson)	4.7	16 0	24.8	5.0	3 1		3 7	3 0	2 8	2 7	3 0	0*
U.S. (National)	8.4	8 6	6.2	8.9	3 7		5 4	3.5	4 2	2.6	0	.0*
West Germany												3.0
(Osnabrück)	3.1	9.9	6.7	3.8	3.8		.1	6.0	1 0	3.7	1.4	.0*
West Germany												3.5
(National)	3.2	21.5	20 9	5 0	1 0		13 0	10 2	.8	1.9	7.7	5 1
Yugoslavia												2.9
(Maribor)	2.0	7.8	11.8	1.7	.2		.0	.6	.0	0	0	.0*
Yugoslavia												.0
(Kragujevac)	.3	.3	.1	3	.1		.0	.1	1	0	0	.0*

*Sample size less than 50

Table 4 are found for greater participation of single people than married people (except that the reverse held true for homemakers), and for employed women than homemakers. In an earlier paper (Robinson, 1967), it was shown that younger people engaged in more sports activities than older people and this is probably responsible for the greater participation of single people in Table 4.

In this previous paper it was also shown that respondents who were better-educated participated more than those who were less educated across the various societies. Although the trend is not strong, more recent analyses indicate that men employed in lower white collar occupations were more active than those in higher status white collar jobs. This would lend very tentative support to the speculation that sports activity for lower white-collar males may be a form of seeking gratifications that are unobtainable from their work environment.

We have noted that the single code 80 probably contains a wide variety of sports activity. Thus far we have only been able to dig back into the time-budget diaries from the United States sample to examine the kinds of sports activities that are reported by the 5% of this sample who report any participation in sports. It should be instructive, then, to note the kinds of sports activities in the United States which comprise the average 105 minutes which these Americans devote to sports activities.

Daily Sports Activity in America

In light of the fact that data is available for a full national urban sample, there seems little inherent interest in examining the Jackson data. Moreover, one of our most significant findings thus far is how well the two sets of figures coincide in terms of total time allocation pattern. This suggests that the pattern of activity in a single community may be quite predictive of what one can expect over the whole country in which it is located, a state of affairs that held as well for other countries as for the United States. Only future studies will be able to discern to what extent this holds for sports activity. In any event, we shall confine ourselves in the following analysis to the national urban data for the United States. The question of course arises whether urban people are more likely to be sports-minded than rural people. A national survey conducted in 1957 indicated that this indeed was the case, but the differences were not large (DeGrazia, 1962). While 9 percent of the urban population reported sports participation "yesterday" only 7 percent of rural respondents did. Rural respondents were also less likely to participate in other recreation activities as well: e. g., playing games (7% vs. 8% for the urban dweller) and going to see a sports event (3% vs. 4%).

Of the 1244 respondents in the national sample, 71 reported activity coded under "playing sports" and 11 under "hunting and fishing", with no respondent reporting both activities. Although the U. S. sports participation rate seems to be above average in Table 3, one disturbing feature appears on closer perusal of those diaries reporting sports activity -- over half of these people report bowling, one of the most sedentary of sports activities. Among some of the many myths that our study data may expose is that of baseball (or football) as the "national sport." In terms of actual adult participation across the whole year, bowling may well rate as the most popular American sport.

The only other sports activity in which a significant portion of American adults became involved was exercises, which comprised close to a third of diary entries under "playing sports". To complete the sports activity, we had four mentions of basketball and one each of swimming, tennis, squash, golf, weight-lifting, kite-flying and horseback riding. Age and educational factors truly came to the fore in explaining these more strenuous sporting endeavors: the average age for this subset of activities was 34 (or 40 for the entire sample) and only 2 of the respondents had not been to college -- the horseback rider and the kite flyer. Bowlers, however, were much more likely to come from the ranks of the less educated, while those who exercised were more likely to be better educated--not one person with less than a high school education reported exercising. Unlike bowling and the other sports, exercising was much more popular among women. We would certainly recommend that at least these three forms of sporting activity -- bowling, exercising and other sports -- be kept separate in future research on American sports participation.

Most people in physical education would (and should) probably be appalled at this picture of the sporting American -- two percent of Americans taking part in exercises and one percent in strenuous sports on an average day. While one can rightly object that a single day is too short a time period over which to measure activity, we shall present data below which indicate that it is highly likely that the person who gets involved on one day will do so on the next. While the author is in no position to say what the ideal level of physical activity ought to be on an average day, it can be safely assumed that very few American adults are likely to obtain it through what we have coded under sports activity.

This contention, as well as that about bowling becoming our true national sport, is made highly tentative by the times of year in which our survey was conducted, namely late fall and early spring. There is every reason to expect these activities to rise dramatically during the summer months, however, these represent only 25 to 40 percent of the total year, with our survey times representing the more

active segments of the remainder. Hence it is unlikely that the interpretation of our rather discouraging figures will change very much.

There is still the chance that the range of activities examined thus far are too restricted in their implications for the sociology of sport. Some related forms of recreational activity which were excluded were mentioned earlier. It may be appropriate to reexamine them now in the context of the activities of a typical day.

Probably the closest other code involving exercise outside of sports is code 82, taking a walk, in which walking for any purpose (e.g., work, shopping) is excluded. Some 30 people, or 2.5 percent of our sample, took a walk on the particular day (usually a weekend) about which we interviewed them. Nor were these short strolls--the average time spent walking was 46 minutes, although averaging this across the entire population works out to only one minute per day. Another minute can be attributed to those 15 people who took one of their children for some outdoor recreation on the diary day.

Here the average amount of time spent on such activity for those taking part was 83 minutes. Unlike the two major sports codes, both of these activities (i.e., walking and outdoor recreation with children) were participated in equally by both men and women, the young and elderly, the less educated and better educated.

The subject of games is also of some relevance to the sociology of sports. Some ten percent of our respondents reported being involved in some sort of game on a particular day. Half of these were card games, a quarter were crossword and jigsaw puzzles and the remainder were other games (e.g., bingo, pool and Yahtzee). An additional eight percent of the sample reported some form of indoor entertainment with their children.

This would seem to pretty well exhaust Table 1 activities related to active recreation involving some sort of exercise. However, there remains the spectator or passive side of sports, and here one encounters participation rates far larger than any activities covered to now. However, this is not nearly so true in person as it is through the mass media. Only nine respondents (or less than one percent) reported going to a sporting event. It was surprising to find (contrary to which might be implied in footnote 4) that almost every one of these nine people lived in a smaller city. However, the types of sports "events" attended make this entirely understandable: six went to a high school basketball or football game and one woman watched her husband bowl. The other two were spectators at what we more

usually think of as sports events -- a college basketball game and an ice hockey game (which took place in, of all places, Houston, Texas). Not one reported going to what are reported to be the most popular American spectator sports -- automobile racing and horse racing.

Following sports events and sports news in the mass media would seem to be most concentrated on television, and then in decreasing order, newspapers, radio, magazines and books. Close to 30 percent of the sample (mainly men) reported watching some TV sports program during the day, with the average time across the sample of 14 minutes -- which is equal to the total time spent on all the more active forms of recreation discussed thus far. Of the 80 percent who read a newspaper, about one in eight said the sports section was the part of the paper to which they paid most attention and an additional one in six said it was the part they read second most closely. All in all, the sample probably spent somewhere between five and eight minutes on the sports pages. Somewhat over 2 percent listened to a sports broadcast on the radio, one percent read a sports magazine (probably far more read something in one of the general news magazines) and a fifth of a percent read some book on sports. Unfortunately we do not have any further information regarding the sports content of these media. Those interested would probably find any of the content analyses of media programming far more useful in this regard. Nevertheless, there is a paucity of research on the actual audience for such content. Television media research seems to indicate significant differences in the audiences for various types of sports programs. Baseball and bowling for example appeal more to the less educated and older segments of the population while both college and pro football appeal to the better educated and middle-aged. Golf, on the other hand, draws its major audience from both the better educated and more elderly.

This then constitutes a rough outline of the magnitudes which one might reasonably expect to find for the various sorts of sport activity on a particular day in America. On a typical day, we find a little under one percent of the adult population engaged in some form of strenuous sports activity, two percent performing exercises, four percent bowling, three percent going for a walk, one percent playing outdoors (and eight percent indoors) with their children and ten percent engaging in some form of gaming activity. While less than one percent went to watch some sort of sporting event, perhaps up to half the population followed sports through the mass media. Single day samples however tell us far more about societies than about those individuals who do participate. For this reason, some additional data were collected in the American survey to shed some

light on this aspect of activity. Unfortunately, comparable data were not collected in any of the other survey sites. However, it is hoped that presentation of these questions and the answers to them will stimulate efforts to see how the American replies compare cross-nationally.

Some Correlates of Annual Sports Activity

We asked our respondents to estimate about how often they had taken part in a set of 18 diverse leisure time activities during the previous year. They were asked to choose one of five alternatives: once a week or more, every two or three weeks, half-dozen to a dozen times all year, one to five times a year or not at all. For the three most relevant sets of sporting activities, the following percentage distributions were obtained (in %)

	Not at all	Year			Every 2-3 week	
		1-5	6-12			
Playing active sports	57	10	10	8	13	98
Fishing, hunting, etc	53	21	13	7	6	98
Going to watch sports events	47	26	15	6	6	98

Well over half the population said that they had not participated in any active sports activity in the previous year and another tenth had done so less than five times. By applying some arbitrary weights to these figures, it is possible to note that like almost everything else in society, sports activity is quite unequally distributed. The weights are 0 for not at all, 3 for one to five times per year, 9 for six to twelve times, 25 for every two or three weeks and 50 for every week or more. Something like 20 percent of the adult population accounts for 90 percent of total sports activity.

Who is most likely to comprise this 20 percent? Not unexpectedly from the earlier data presented, the most powerful predictors are age ($r = .20$) and educational background ($r = .16$). Marriage, number of children, race and city size have only insignificant effects once these two variables are controlled. The effects of income and occupation are quite complex, even though much of the variation in participation due to these two factors can be explained by educational differences. Specifically we find that among college educated men, those in blue collar occupations are more active in sports than those in white collar jobs, among those men with a grade school or high school education, it is those in the higher-paying white collar jobs who are most active. Among college-educated women, those who are employed are more active than housewives; no such differences were found among those women who had not been to college.

Keeping these exceptions in mind, let us examine variations in annual sports activity by age and education, as portrayed in Table 7. The numbers in Table 7 refer to the weighted average of replies regarding frequency of sports participation in the preceding year. In other words, these entries are the approximate number of times that a person in each category participates in active sports over a year's time. For the most part, the numbers decrease across rows and down columns as expected, so that college exposed men under 30

Table 7

Approximate Number of Times per Year that Men and Women in Various Age and Education Categories Participate in Active Sports

	Men					Women				
	under 30	30- 39	40- 49	50 & over		under 30	30- 39	40- 49	50 & over	
College Exposure	22.6	16.1	17.3	9.3	16.8	10.5	10.6	7.9	5.0	8.6
High School										
Graduates	12.6	10.9	10.8	7.5	10.8	7.9	12.8	8.9	2.5	8.6
Non-High School										
Graduates	18.0	15.6	6.7	8.1	10.4	8.9	5.7	4.5	1.9	4.6
	17.5	14.5	11.6	8.3	12.9	8.9	10.5	7.4	2.9	7.4

show almost three times the sports activity of a person over 50 who had not finished high school, while for women these two categories vary by a factor of five. There are some exceptions to this general trend perhaps mainly due to sampling error, but one will note that college exposed groups report being more active than the general average for all age comparisons in the table. If we had divided our question on active sports so that bowling could have been ascertained separately, we undoubtedly would have obtained much more dramatic age and education differences in Table 7.

We also found that those who reported themselves as more active in sports more often went to sports events ($r = .16$) and did more hunting and fishing ($r = .08$). However, attendance at sports events was also reported more often by the younger and better educated segments of our sample, which confounds the interpretation of the first correlation. Unlike sports participation, both attendance at sports events ($r = -.13$) and hunting and fishing ($r = -.11$) were significantly more popular in the smaller cities of our sample.

We were also interested in the general amount of satisfaction that our respondents derived from 18 facets of their life, like marriage, friends, reading, etc. Included among these facets were "sports or games", these two unfortunately had to be grouped together because of the length of the list, we were likewise unable to separate participation from spectating. The responses however do indicate a much higher interest in the sporting activities of American society than the aforementioned participation rates would lead us to believe. The degree of satisfaction from sports or games for men and women according to the alternatives given to respondents were as follows (in %):

	Great	Much	Some	Little	None
Men	43	28	16	6	7
Women	14	16	28	19	23

Less than a tenth of the male population (highly concentrated among the less educated elderly) said they got no satisfaction from sports or games and less than a quarter of women reported no such satisfaction.

If we were to allow ourselves the luxury of the assumption that the replies to each of the 18 facets can be meaningfully compared, we find that the overall replies to sports or games comes well ahead of these items for men: television, religion, non-grocery shopping, reading, politics, cooking, making or fixing things around the house, one's automobile, relaxing and sitting around, clubs that one belonged to and being with relatives. Sports and games, furthermore, come out about equivalent to one's living quarters, one's job, helping other people and being with friends. Fortunately for our society, marriage and children still enjoy a comfortable margin over all these items. Again, one should be cautious about reading too much into these findings but they do suggest some startling conclusions about the importance of sport and games in the male segment of our society.

Needless to say, and perhaps thankfully, sports and games do not rate anywhere near as highly in the woman's value structure. Sports and games rated just slightly higher than politics and club activities and significantly below the other 15 facets given.

Although we are unable to tell precisely to what this satisfaction question refers, correlational analysis between this question and the annual participation items does lead us to believe that it refers more to sports than to games. The correlations between the sports and games satisfaction item and four relevant participation items are as follows:

	Men	Women
Watch sports events	30	.29
Hunting, fishing, etc	.09	15
Play active sports	23	.27
Play cards, etc	.12	15

All correlations, although small, are significant at the .05 level. However, the correlations for watching sports events and playing active sports are twice as large as those for hunting, etc. and cards, etc. Furthermore those respondents claiming great or much satisfaction from sports or games report almost ten times as much daily participation in active sports as those reporting little or no satisfaction. The comparable diary figures for going to sports events, playing games and hunting-fishing were five to one, three to one and one to one respectively. Thus it would appear that sports activity rather than games or outdoors activity accounts for more of the content in respondent's replies to the satisfaction item. Finally, it may be remarked that the background variables which were most highly associated with active sports, namely age and education, were also the ones most highly associated with the satisfaction item.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There has been a diversity of findings presented in this paper and some form of summarization would undoubtedly be helpful at this point. First of all, within the confines of the data available we did not uncover a great deal of variation in overall time spent on active sports across the twelve countries surveyed, although the United States, West Germany and Russia did show greater amounts of time spent on sports. There was a tendency for sports activity in those Eastern European countries with smaller amounts of free time to show less participation in sports. By far the highest rate of participation in sports was reported in the Soviet Union, and it was hypothesized that this could be attributed to daily exercises.

A general trend across the twelve countries was noted for sports activity to be most pronounced on the weekends. Higher participation is also noted for younger people, for single people, for the better-educated and for men in lower white collar occupations.

Closer examination of the United States daily sports activity revealed that half of it consisted of bowling, and that on an average day perhaps only about one percent of the population engages in some form of more strenuous sports activity. Another two percent partake in exercises and a further three percent go for a walk. Eight percent reported some sort of indoor recreation with their children but only

one percent outdoor activities. Less than one percent reported going to a sports event. These figures were dwarfed by the proportion following sports through the mass media, especially television. Perhaps half the population follows some sort of sports activity through the mass media on an average day.

Analysis of United States data on annual sports activity suggested that 90 percent of all annual adult active sports participation is performed by 20 percent of the population. Congruent with the cross-national findings, large sex, education and age differences were found and examined. Despite what might be inferred from the low participation rates, aspects of sports and games evidently constitute something from which the American male derives a great deal of satisfaction. Out of 18 suggested sources of satisfaction, he rated only marriage and children consistently higher than sports and games. Sports or games were almost at the bottom of the woman's value structure however.

Correlations with participation items did suggest that replies to the sports or games items were mainly endowed with an active sports flavor, rather than watching sports, hunting or fishing or games.

The need for both behavioral and attitudinal data from both a shorter (daily, weekly, monthly) and larger (e.g., annual) time perspective from both the spectator and participant slants should be apparent in any attempt to adequately describe the sports orientation of a particular country. There is furthermore a need to examine aspects of each sport separately. The more grandiose aims of our project meant that we could examine these various aspects only sporadically and hence we have relatively little to offer about the dynamic structure of sports within society. What sorts of conditions or individuals are responsible for initiating adult sports activity in society? What are the motivations and satisfactions that participants receive from various kinds of sports activity? What sorts of invitations to and opportunities for sporting activities are refused by individuals and what activities are chosen instead? To what extent do the mass media influence sports interest or participation? It is hoped that research into these questions will be stimulated by this and its report.

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Notes on the Inter-Group Conflicts in International Sport

By

Kalevi Heinilä

According to sport, and especially Olympic ideology, one of the fundamental functions of international sport is to promote international understanding and goodwill among world youth. Sport has been referred to as one of the most influential movements of peace. No doubt, the history of international sport and that of the Olympic Games give numerous evidences of the functions of sport for building friendship ties between the different countries. However, evidence to the contrary is perhaps equally true although this might not be as numerous. International communication in sport has also been as an apparent reason for controversies and conflicts -- even for interrupted relations. Even in the peace-loving and cool-tempered North the history of track and field contests between Sweden and Finland is characterized by a "cold war" atmosphere culminating in the 1930's in an open conflict and resulting in an interruption of athletic competition between the two countries lasting for several years. Even recently this ultimate kind of resolution of competitive sports has again been discussed (in newspapers, at least) but this time in connection with another branch of sport. The potential threat of conflict and disharmony in international sport needs hardly any more indications.

It is important for the development of international sport and for the realization of the goodwill function present in sport ideology that we secure more knowledge about those situational factors which 1) contribute to the promotion of international understanding and about those which 2) appear to lead to an arousal of inter-group conflict. The study of these opposite situations surely is advisable because the policy in practice for promoting of international understanding appears to optimize the favorable conditions and to minimize conditions of potential conflict. As far as is known there is a lag in any systematic scientific exploration in this area. Nevertheless, the inter-group conflict as a problem in international sport has been in focus by many individuals and by international authorities (Jones; Sondhi, 1963).

It may be important to document the literature on this subject for the possible stimulus it may have on needed research. Further, fruitful theoretical approaches and working hypotheses may be found in the area of small group studies, especially in the school of group dynamics and by some social psychologists. The theories and studies on collective behavior as well as recently sponsored studies on international peace are also worth mentioning as a source of reference (Sherif, 1953, 1962; Smelser, 1962).

Competition as a social process is by its inherent nature susceptible to controversies and to an arousal of conflicts. Competition tends to reward exclusively but tends to frustrate inclusively, or putting it in other way in competition there is only one winner but many losers. In well known small group experiments Deutsch (1960) observed that unfriendly and aggressive interindividual relations were more typical of competitive than of cooperative groups. Competition, by its very nature, may sometimes be a sufficient cause for conflict but not invariably so. We must look also for other factors.

In the view of this writer one of the more favorable conditions for potential conflict in international sport is the strong group-identification of the two adverse parties. In sociology this process is referred to as the in-group and the out-group formation. According to Sherif "when groups engage in reciprocally competitive and frustrating activities ... unfavorable stereotypes come into use in relation to the out-group and its members. In time, these unfavorable stereotypes are standardized in a group, placing the out-group at the prejudicial distance. ... Concomitant with the rise of mutually prejudicial attitudes between groups, self-glorifying or self-justifying attitudes toward the in-group are strengthened. The performance of the out-group is deprecated and the moves of the out-group and its members are perceived in a suspicious light." (1953)

By definition the in-group attitudes are based on strong feelings of belongingness and on a strong identification with the group. In certain situations, however, this we-feeling gets exaggerated into ethnocentrism (i.e. chauvinism in more familiar terms). Open conflicts are more or less probable in situations of in-group and out-group cleavages, especially in their very distinct phases. According to Catton's theory the ethnocentrism is conditioned by group solidarity, the conformity of members and by the group effectiveness. In this connection it is more relevant to notice that in line with his theory the ethnocentrism increases the probability of conflict with the out-group or results in the withdrawal of the in-group from interaction with out-groups. This hypothesis is supported by many instances in the history of international sport (Catton, 1960-61).

Jones gives a striking description of in-group and out-group formation in international sport " ... the thousands of spectators, and sometime the players as well, seem to behold a mighty contest between their 'country' and the 'enemy'. The national prestige is at stake, a victory is no longer the success of the team that could play better but becomes a national victory and is an occasion for national rejoicings, out of all proportion with reality. Such an attitude is not favorable to international understanding." (1959)

As Sherif states the competitive system as such is vulnerable to the arousal of in- and out-group attitudes. Operating in the same direction and reinforcing ethnocentrism are certain other situational determinants, like national stereotypes which are held by the adverse parties and which may have distinctive dissimilarities regarding for example historical, cultural, political and social conditions of life. In spite of sport ideologies players and spectators often carry with them, more or less consciously, the role of their citizenship and often comply with this role in a manner completely foreign to their ideologies of sport and frequently loaded with the national prejudices and stereotypes and often are intentionally activated by manifest symbols, like flags and anthems, or by cheer-leaders. It is probable that prejudice and antagonistic attitudes dictated by the role of citizenship feed back into group solidarity and identification, or to state this in terms of a hypothesis: the stronger the out-group attitudes, the stronger the in-group solidarity and the more probable ethnocentrism or chauvinism, and -- likewise inter-group conflicts. It is also reasonable to expect that in- and out-group attitudes reinforce each other in a circular way, i. e. group solidarity strengthens out-group attitudes and again out-group attitudes have a feed-back effect reinforcing in-group attitudes.

As a matter of common observation team sports have more attraction for spectators than do individual sports. Kleinman's study(1960) points this out and indicates further that in team sports conflicts are more probable than in individual sports. It seems to be psychologically easier for the public and spectators to identify with a team than with an individual participant as it is more conventional to say "our team won" rather than to say "our Paavo Nurmi won." It seems likely that the most favorable conditions for strong group identification and for the formation of distinct in- and out-group attitudes -- and thus for inter-group conflicts as well -- are offered in an international dual contest. Because the universality of participation and spectatorism in Olympic Games does not give such a positive basis for national identification the potentiality of conflicts in these games is rather insignificant.

The great expansion of spectator sports in the more urban and industrial countries probably reflects the acute identification problems which detached, "lonely crowd" people have. It probably reflects as well their urgent inclination to look for and to define their individual identity in terms of a group affiliation howsoever superficial or imaginary it may be. Spectators look in vicarious ways for success and for some positive identity and often secure this identity by identifying with team or athletes having some common similarities, at least, and by generalizing their victories into victories for all. Caillois's point of view falls in the same line when he says: "The majority fail in

competition or are ineligible to compete, having no chance to enter or succeed. . . . The majority remain frustrated. Every-one wants to be first and in law and justice has a right to be. However, each knows or suspects that he will not be, for the simple reason that by definition only one may be first. He may therefore choose to win indirectly, through identification with someone else-- which is the only way in which all can triumph simultaneously without effort or chance of failure." (1961)

It is not only the athletes and the teams that win or loose but also the public and the spectators at the same time, or all those with the same common identity. "Well, aren't we Finns really good," boasted an old man (long ago) when hearing about Paavo Nurmi's superiority in the Olympic Games.

The higher the expectations of teams and those of the public in respect to success, the more frustrated is the "in-group" in case of failure -- and the more probable is unfair behavior and inter-group conflicts of any kind. Newspapers and other media of mass communication especially are often loaded with ethnocentrism and are inclined to awaken unrealistic expectations among their sports publics. Created beliefs on national success and superiority are conducive to strengthening group identification and to furthering in- and out-group cleavages among the spectators and teams -- and once again to increase the probability of inter-group conflict. The development of this kind of atmosphere is often clearly observed in a dual competition on the international level when the teams have an equal chance of victory and when each one represents the country as a reference group in all social life, including the sport. For instance, Sweden is in this way related to Finland: these countries are in many fields of competitive sport roughly equal in strength and Sweden functions from the point of Finland as "a reference group," this means as a basis for comparison and evaluation in all cultural, economic and educational spheres of community life. With the contests between the teams of these two countries there has been, and surely will continue to be, a characteristic heightening of emotionalism, an involvement and strong in- and out-group formation and, consequently, a susceptibility to controversies and conflicts of any sort. Worth mentioning also is the effect of a large number of new national records. On the other hand in the contests between the Soviet Union and Finland in various branches of sport the distinct formation of in- and out-group attitudes has been quite foreign, mainly due, perhaps, to the big differences between the countries, e. g. in social structure and in size, which make irrelevant comparisons, evaluations or any other functions as a reference group. For that reason it is not 'degrading' to loose to a team of the Soviet Union, but it is quite frustrating and almost like a "national defeat", quoting Rene Maheu's words, to be

beaten by a Swedish team and contrariwise it is more satisfying and joyous to beat Sweden than it is to beat the Soviet Union -- if this writer's "little-exaggerated-interpretation" on national feelings is right. The hypothesis in the significance of reference group-countries as a condition for ethnocentrism might be elaborated in line with Galtung's very interesting "structural theory of aggression" based on the concept of rank-disequilibrium with reference to the various dimensions of national resources (1964-65).

There are, of course, other situational determinants independent of group-identification which are also usually connected with the conflict potentiality of international sport in modern times. The professionalization of sport, mainly due to the heightened level of demands to which participants of championship sport are exposed results in an upgrading and an overevaluating of victory and success. This tendency is again reinforced by the extensive publicity given to championship sport. Interpreting in Homans's terms of human exchange professionalization means increased "investments" and "costs" for participants and likewise respectively increased reward expectations proportional to the greater investments and costs. From the proposition on "distributive justice" the potentiality of a conflict situation can be deduced and Homans states this in the following words: "The more to a man's disadvantage the rule of distributive justice fails of realization, the more likely he is to display the emotional behavior we call anger." (1961)

This tendency of upgrading the victory along with the changes in the intrinsic and extrinsic nature of rewards as a result of the professionalization of championship sport contributes to the unfair behavior and a disloyalty to rules. Likewise, it leads also to a development of inter-group conflicts. This is more likely now than during the days of real amateurism in the past.

The potentiality for inter-group conflicts -- inherent in competition proper and especially in international sport -- is worthy of serious attention by authorities of international sport. But first of all it is worthy of serious study, and this underlines the very purpose of this paper.

It has been proposed that some trends in international sport have been conducive to an increase in conflict potentiality. As a situational determinant the extensive involvement and exposure of the public to international sport events seems to be one of the main conditions for group-identification and ethnocentrism, and renders a situation vulnerable to inter-group conflict. Further, the heightening level

of demands as a necessary condition for success and the concomitant "totalitarization" of each national sport system striving for the international glory tend to upgrade victories to the extent that temptations for unfair behavior and disloyalty to rules are likely, and thus, also, conflicts are likely. The totalitarization of a national sport system refers to the fact that success in international competition is no longer as it was in the past -- as in the era of Paavo Nurmi -- a matter of the individual effort and resources of the participant but instead it is a matter of the effectiveness and total resources of the whole national sport system. This might include the human reserves in sport, the level of sport sciences, the efficiencies of the organizations and that of the training systems, etc. In other words, the success and effectiveness of the individual athlete or the single team depend more and more on the resources and effectiveness of the total system of the national sport and less on the individual effort independent of the system. Little attention to this trend and to its consequences has been given so far but surely these are worthy of serious consideration and study. One may become convinced of the role of the national training system on the success and the effectiveness of an individual sport unit for instance by becoming acquainted with the system existing in the Soviet Union or in other leading countries (Ozolin, 1964)

The expansion of spectator sports all over the world indicates that today even those sections of populations who have not themselves taken active part in sport and who for that reason have not had the ideology of sport and the norms of "fair play" impressed upon them are now interested and involved in sport as enthusiasts and "identifiers." This also might make the international sport vulnerable to controversies. However, the extension of the active participation in sport noticed in many countries probably mitigates the trend mentioned above. One of the effective ways to learn and internalize the very ideals and the conduct proper in sport is surely the active personal participation. In participation these ideals can still be found by everybody as found by Roger Bannister who says "Sport has an individual basis and an individual meaning, and is not a national or moral affair."

One basic and generally recognized condition for the actualization of the goodwill and the friendship function in international sport is the absolute loyalty to the written and unwritten rules of the competitive sport. The recent action of the International Council of Sport and Physical Education in creating the PIERRE DE COUBERTIN TROPHIES for promoting fair play in competitive sport exemplifies the direction of policy certainly needed from the international authorities of sport and physical education. However, some empirical data indicate that there exists hardly sufficient consensus on fair play and on the conceptions of behavior proper in various competitive situations, not even

among the athletes themselves. If this is true among the athletes it can probably be expected that even greater varieties in these conceptions are held by spectators and sport leaders. In this light the action of ICSPE seems to be somehow premature. An identification and clarification of the very concept of fair play is first needed, and then this must be followed by a common recognition of and a commitment to the clarified principles and norms by international authorities. Until these steps are taken rewarding and promoting actions hardly seem appropriate. Disagreements on rules and the different interpretations of "fair behavior" inherently include the potentiality of open conflict that can be eliminated only by means of a statement of specific common rules and proper conducts.

There is some evidence that too great a deviation from the norm of "equal terms" tends to mitigate proper competition and may lead to an increase of conflicts as well. In this point the author disagrees with Jones when he says. "In sport, it is quality that counts and not the quantity. This is probably the most important factor behind the great development of international sport. A small country has an even chance when competing against large countries." (1959). The specification of fair play norms calls for international cooperation. Efforts in this direction have, of course, already been made but more are needed (Martin, 1959).

The author's proposition is that it is the total efficiency and the total resources of a national system of sport which count the most and surely this is in favor of the larger countries. This trend can clearly be seen in the finals of the European Cup in track and field in 1965: six countries qualifying in the finals were the Soviet Union, England, France, Poland, East- and West Germany. In the near future this trend in international sport might more clearly be seen; as a deviation from equal terms it might result in an unexpected rearrangement and a reorganization of international sport -- this trend can even threaten the current organization and status of the Olympic Games. Anyhow, the probable changes in the social system of the international competitive sport likely tend toward the state in which the vital norm of "equal terms" will appropriately be realized. In a study on recent changes in competitive contacts of different countries, regarding the bigness of a country as an independent variable, the author's proposition on the primary importance of "equal terms" as a determinant of the very competition may be testified and probably disapproved. Such a study of trend analyses might well be carried out by some research institute with adequate resources.

This kind of prediction must only be considered as a conjecture at our present level of knowledge in the field of sport sociology with

all its unknown probabilities, it may, however, be worth consideration. In spite of the increasing potential for inter-group conflict in international sport Jones's statement is as valid as ever when he says: "Sports may, indeed, become a tremendously positive factor for improving international understanding. All those engaged in sports may become agents of goodwill between the peoples of the world. Theirs is a great opportunity. It is the sacred responsibility of all sportsmen that this opportunity shall not be missed." (1959)

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Cultures with material on sport and competitive games (as of 1969)

The numbers listed indicate the number of pages in which sport and games are discussed
In cultures without numbers sport and games are mentioned in other contexts and pre-
dominantly only casually

ASIA

Korea 31
Ainu
Okinawa
Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Hainan
Sino-Tibetan Border
Lolo
Miao
Yao
Monquor
China 20
North China
South China 9
Inner Mongolia
Outer Mongolia
Sinkiang
Tibet 28
West Tibetans 16
Indochina 2
Cambodians 10
Laotians 9
Vietnamese 20
Malaya 12
Malays 27
Siam
Thailand 27
Akha
Burma
Burmese 27
Karen
Khasi
West Panjabi
Afghanistan 20
Kashmir
Burusho 26
India
Coorg
East Punjab
Kanada
Uttar Pradesh
Bhil
Gond
Kol
Tulu

Ngonde 5
Rundi
Bemba
Ila 9
Ngoni
Yao 6
Bushmen
Hottentot
Tswana 2

EUROPE

Poland
Czechoslovakia
Hungary
Yugoslavia
Serbs
Albania
Greece 7
Austria
Finland
Lapps
Rural Irish
Malta

MIDDLE EAST

Middle East 27
Iran
Kurd
Turkey
Lebanon 2
Jordan
Iraq 7
Saudi Arabia
Bedouins
Yemen 26
Aden
Somali 7
Amhara 13
Fellahin 15
Hausa
Tuareg
Wolof 8
Bahrain 8

NORTH AMERICA

Aleut
Tlingit
Copper Eskimo
Nahane
Bellacoola
Nootka 22
Ojibwa
Micmac
Delaware 13
Iroquois 50
Creek 50
Comanche
Winnebago
Crow 30

Omaha
Gros Ventre
Mandan
Pawnee
North Platte
Southeast Salish 18
Pomo
Tubatulabal
Yukute 50
Yurok
Navaho 60
Plateau Yumans 25
River Yumans
Tewa
Zuni
Aztec
Papago 38
Seri
Tarahumara 70
Tarasco
Tepoztilan
Yucatec Maya

SOUTH AMERICA

South Am Indians 1
Mosquito
Talamasca
Cuna
Goajiro
Paiz
Cayapa
Jivaro
Inca
Aymara
Chane 17
Chiriguano
Araucanians
Tebuelche
Yahgan
Abipon
Mataco 10
Guana
Caingang
Tupinamba
Bororo
Caraja
Nanbicuara
Tapirape
Trumai
Mundurucu
Tucuna
Bush Negroes
Pemon 10
Warao
Yaruro
Callinago
Haiti

RUSSIA

Soviet Union
Lithuanians
Mordva
Caucasia
Abkhaz
Yakut
Gilyak
Chukchee
Koryak

OCEANIA

Philippines 6
Apayao
Bontok
Central Bissayan
Ifugao
Indonesia
Borneo
Iban 3
Land Dyak
Alor
Flores
Makassar
Ambon
Aranda
Tiwi
Orakaiwa
Wogeo
Kapaoku
Trobriands
Manus
New Ireland
Buka
Santa Cruz
Lau 9
Marshall 8
Truk 17
Yap 21
Tikopia 38
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Easter Islanders
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Pukapuka 27

AFRICA

Africa
Bambara
Tallensi
Twi
Katab
Yoruba 2
Fang 8
Nuer
Ganda 12
Dorobo
Kikuyu
Luo
Chagga 5

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